

A supplication vnto the most gracious pryncce H. the viij.

Grace and peace from God the father of our sayour Iesus
Christe be with your moste noble and excellent
grace for euermore Amen.



A moste humble wyse complayneth vnto your grace
your conynuall orator Robert Barnes, of the in-
tolerable inturpes, wronges / & opprressions, wher-
with certayne bysshops of your realme bere / & haue
bered / contrary vnto the worde of God, & thei othe
lawes, and doctours / not onely me, but also all true
preachers and professours of the same / in condem-
nyng them for heretikes, as they byd me, whiche thyng they were
not able to proue by the scripture of God / nor yet shall / yf it wolde
please your grace indifferently (acording to the office, wherin God
hath set you) to here the small as well as the great / and to susceyne
your poore orator agaynst thei violence and strengthe.

God I take to recorde, that I am right sorry to make this com-
playnte vnto your grace agaynst them / yf I coude coniecture any
other meane to cause them to redresse their intolerable opprressions /
wherewith they dayly oppresse your poore and true subiectes / so sore
and so violently, that without doubte (yf your grace se not shortly
a remedy) God must nedes punyssh. For I do not beleue that euer
he wyl suffre longe so great tyrannye agaynst his worde / and so vio-
lent opprresson of true christen men, as they do nowe vs / and that
in the name of Christe, and his holy church. For verily we do not
see in any memoyses, that our fathers haue leste vs / that euer the
people were vnder so great tyrannye / as nowe your poore subiectes
be vnto them. Nowe it is so farre come, that what so euer he be /
hye or lowe / poore or ryche / wyse or folysh / that speaketh agaynst
them, and thei bycrous leuyng / he is eyther made a traitour vnto
your grace / or an heretike agaynst holy church / as though they were
kynge, or Gods. This may your moste excellent grace perfectly
knowe / yf you call to remembrance those good men, that they haue
had to do with. Is it not a maruailous courte? they haue / wherin
there was neuer man accused of heresy, were he lerned or not lerned,
but they founde hym guiltye. Is not that a maruailous courte, that
neuer hath innocentes? What courte within your realme may see
this agayne? And yf any man speake of Gods lawe and right con-
science, agaynst this dampnable tyrannye / lytle wyl they syche to
make hym an heretike. And yf that wyl not helpe, to colour and
maiyntayne thei opprresson, than adde they treason agaynst your
grace, though he be neuer so true a subiecte, & all vnhelp to make
any resistance, or to chyke any euill vnto your grace.

B. J.

Rowe

Nowe yf it please your grace, let vs consydre to what ende this
vnhappytable & vntygntuous accusacyon of the bysshops / yf rather
of the deuyl is inuented.

Christe, yf there be any man that preache/dyspute/or put forthe in
wrytyng any thyng not touchyng them / thought it or neuer so
blasphemous agaynst God, the blode of Christ, and his holy worde,
they wyl not ones be moued therewith / the examples therof are so
playne, & it nedeth no profe. Your grace may se what blasphemous
rubrykes they alowe agaynst the bloude of Christ / what shamfull
and abhomynable pardons they tollerate and admyt / what dyspu-
tacyons they do mayntayne to proue the pope a god and no man /
haupnge these wordes, That the pope is nother god nor man. And
whether the pope can synne or not? And that no man can condempne
the pope, though he byng innumerable soules to helle by his occa-
sion. Agayne, let vs consydre, & yf any man but ones speake agaynst
they cloked pprocrysse / or agaynst neuer so lytle a thyng & longer
to them / by the whiche they abhomynacyons shulde be dysclofed.
And we shall euidently perceue that there can no scripture/no place/
no maysterhyp / nor excuse in the worlde saue / but he must eyther to
open shame, or cruell dethe. So that is it playne that they cruellnes
serueth to none other ende / but as they shulde say / yf that any man
wyl take in hande to preache the veryte / & the true gospell of they
mayster Christe purely, wherby those wynnynge shulde be dyn-
nyshed / wherewith we mayntayne our honour / our dygnyte / our
worldly promocyon / our delycious lyuynge / our gorgous apparel /
our sumptuous palases / our lordshypps / breuely all thynges that we
ble to our pastyme and pleasure / shulde be manifest to all men / that
we not only get these thynges by false fained holynes / in deceyving
and robbynge the people of theyr goodes / but also the dyspendynge
of them to be abhomynable / and contrary to the ordynance & worde
of God. Nowe rather than this shulde come to passe, we had le-
uer gather our strength together and oppresse by violence as many
as wyl holde with this lernynge / be he kynge / duke / lord / barone /
knight / man / woman / or chyld. So & by theyr practyse it is euident
to all that wyl se: that it is they & go aboute to make insurreccion
to the mayntaynyng of theyr worldly pompe / and pryde / and not the
true preacher, for he entredeth to mayntayne nothyng / but to byng
to lyght the moste glorious and heuenly worde of God / whiche by
them hath ben darkened and kepte vader / and that with sufferynge
persecutyon (as the nature of the worde is) & not with persecutyng /
for he maketh no styppynge (yf he be the true preacher of God) nor
feghtynge for this worlde / but suffereth the chyldren of the worlde to
enioye these worldly thynges. As withstandinge they are not a-
mch/

pag 2.
An. vi. Cap.
Quo. i verbo
Papa. Dist. xi
Ca. Si. papa

med thus falsely to lay it to the preachers charge / & all by cause they
wolde make your grace to magnifye their malyciousnes. So that
vnder the pretence of reason / they myght execute the tyranny of theyr
vertes. For who is that that wolde be a traytour / or magnifye a
traytour / agaynst your most excellent and noble grace? I thinke no
man / ye & I knowe suerly that no man can do it / without the great
displeasure of the eternal God. For saynt Paule commaundeth strait-
ly vnto all chrysten / to be obedyent in all thynges / on this maner:
Let euery man submyt hym selfe to the auctoryte of the hye power.
For who soeuer resisteth the power / resisteth the ordynance of god /
And they that resist / shall receyue to them selues dampnacion. Also
saynt Peter confirmeth this / sayinge: Submyt your selues vnto all
maner ordynance of man for the lordes sake / whether it be vnto the
kyng / as vnto the chiefe heed / eyther vnto dukes, as vnto them that
are sent of hym for the punysshement of euyl doers / but to the prayse
of them that do well. wherfore if euery man had the scripatures (as
I wolde to god they had) to iudge euery mans doctryne / than were
it out of questyon, that the preachers therof, eyther wolde or coulde
make / or cause to be made any insurreccyon agaynst theyr prince:
seyng the selfe same scripatures straitely commaundeth all subiectes
to be obedyent to theyr princes / as Paule wytnesseth, sayinge:
warne them (sayth he) that they submyt them selues to princes and
to powers / and to obaye the officers.

Roma. xij.

i. Petre. ii.

Howe hoode can they that preache and exhorde all men to this do-
ctryne cause any insurreccyon, or dylobedience agaynst theyr prince.
But let vs go forther, and consyder the preachers, whiche only haue
preached the worde of God / and marke if euer they were occasyon
of dylobedience, or rebellyon agaynst princes.

Firste call to mynde the olde prophetes, & with a single eye iudge
if any of them eithyr pryncely or apertly sturrd by people agaynst
theyr princes.

Take on Christ, if he submitted not hym selfe to the hye powers:
payde he not tribute for all he was free, and caused Peter lphewse
to paye? Suffered not he with all pacyence the punysshementes of
the princes? ye deathe mooste cruell, all though they dyd hym open
wylonge, and coulde fynde hym gyltye in no cause.

Take also of the Apostles (whiche both taught and wrote the do-
ctryne of Christ, and in theyr lyfynge folowed his steppes) and if
euer they sturrd by any occasyon the people agaynst theyr princes /
ye if they them selues obeyd not to all princes, although the mooste
parte of them were Tyrantes and Tyrrelles.

Consyder lphewse those doctours, whiche purely and sincerely
hath handled the worde of God, eithyr in preachynge, or wytyng /

B. 2.

if euer

if euer by theyr meanes any insurreccion or disobedience ryse amōge the people agaynst theyr prynces: But you shall rather fynde, that they haue ben redy to laye downe theyr owne heddes, to suffre with all pacience, what so euer tyranny any powre wolde impaynt vnto them, gyvinge all people example to do the same.

Nowe to conclude, if neyther the scriptures, neyther the practyse of the preachers thereof teacheth, or affirmeth that the people may disobey theyr prynces, or theyr ordynauces, but contrary wyse teacheth all obedience to be done vnto them/it is playne that those byshops or rather pappstes/do falsely accuse those trewe preachers and subiectes. Whiche chynge wolde appere in euery mans syghte/ if by theyr violence, the worde of God were not kepte vnder.

Now is this the doctrine that I do preache, and teache, and none other, as concernynge this mater, God I take to recorde, and all my booke, and wytynges that euer I wrot or made. And only I allowe and fauour them/whiche fordereth this doctrine of Chyſte/ and of this I am sure myne aduersarys, or rather aduersarys to Chyſtes doctrine, muste bere me wytnes.

But nowe as we haue breuely touched the doctrine that the true preachers preache to the people, bothe by worde, wytyng, and practise of them. So let vs somewhat touche the doctrine and practise of the pope, and the pappstycall byshops/ and than let euery man seke out the heteryses, and traptoures to theyr prynces.

Chyſte, where the preachers only of the worde of God, preacheth and teacheth all men to obey theyr prynces, and theyr ordynauces, accordynge to the wordes of saynte Peter. There the pope and the pappstycal byshops/contrary vnto the mynde and facte of saynt Peter, expoundeth saynt Peters wordes sayinge: that saynt Peter mented not hym selfe, nor his successors, but his subiects. And by this faulſe interpretation excludeth hym selfe with his, from al obedience to prynces. And yet not so contente, but craftely drawynge all other subiectes, from the obedience of theyr prynces, saythe to them also that the wordes of saynt Peter were not spoken as a commaundment/ but as a counsell.

And by this crafte, if any prynce espye his falsed/and of conspience go aboute to reprimoue hym, than by his false prechers, and mayntayners of hym/ he lyghtly withdraweth the herres of the comune from theyr prynce, affirmynge the commaundement of God to be but a counsell, and at the leaſte wyse his auctorite to be suspectent to dyspence with all the commaundementes of God. And thus (the people beyng ignorant, because they lacke the worde of God to iudge euery doctrine by) they delude theyr wyttes.

And if any man that percepueth theyr crafte, of very loue that he hath to

papa
In. vi. lib. i. ti.
tulo. xxiij. de
maiori obedi
entia capitulu
6. Solite.

hath to God and his commaundementes, exhorteth the people to iudge the doctrine of those papists by the worde of God: Anone they lay heresy vnto his charge, lapenge for them there Gods lawe, sayunge: No man may iudge the pope, no man also may gyue sentence aboue his iudgement, but he shall iudge all men vpon erthe.

Item, the seate of Rome gyuerh strength & myghte to all lawes, but it is subiecte to none.

Item, that the subiectes may be disobedient to their owne lordes, that he may depose hynge.

Item, that he hath autorite to breke all othes, bondes, and obligacions made betwene any man of hys, or lowe degree.

Item, that the pope hath power to interpret, declare, and to lay forth the holy scripture after his owne wyll / and to suffer no man to expounde it contrary to his pleasure.

Item, that the pope is a God vpon erthe, ouer al, heuently, erthly, godly, and worldly / and he is all his owne / and no man may say to to hym / what doste thou?

Item, though he were so euill, & he led innumerable men by great hepes to helle, yet shall no man reprove hym therfore.

Nowe after that they had sptten in the consciences of men, with these and suche lyke abhomynable doctrines / and had excluded men the scriptures, as an vnlawful thyng to haue in their mother tonge, lest they shulde espye theyr dysaptfaynes, Than as men past thame / beyng bothe without feare of God and man / spared not to put in execution these abhomynable doctrines / in so moche that they deposed openly Princes, and Emperours / y^e & assolyed all theyr subiectes from the obedience of them / the commaundement of God not regarded. But that my wordes shulde the better appere to all men / I shall recyte some of theyr practyse / bothe out of autentike cronicles / and out of theyr owne lawe.

Archabpys byd depose the hynge of Fraunce / not all onely for his iniquite / but also because he was vnprofitable for so great a power / and set in his stede wthynum the Emperours father / and byd assolye all Fraunce of theyr othe and allegaunce: that they had made vnto the oide hynge. The whiche thyng, the holy church of Rome doth ofte tymes / by her auctorite. &c.

Nowe wold to God your grace earnestly wolde looke on this lawe / or at the least, to suffer & gyue the worde of God in to the handes of your subiectes, to compare the obedience & these men bothe preache and practyse, to it. But sayne wolde I knowe of them all / who hath deposed any hynge s^yth Chrystes passyon, sayunge they onely? who wyll be hynge to felowes / y^e and controllers, sayunge they onely? Is not this a subtile craft of Antychrist / to warne other men of he-

The doctrine of the papist.
Dist. xl. c. Si
appa. ix. q. iij.
ca. Cuncta.
xxx. q. i. cap.
Ideo permit.
In. vi. li. ii. de
sen. & re iudic.

rv. q. vi. cap.
Alius.

xxvi. q. cap. i.
Quociens.

In. v. de de.
preb. cap. Ad
Apostolatus
in verbo cōs
netur dist. xl.
ca. Si papa.

rv. Quest. vi.
Alius item.

A supplication vnto the most gracious

A call of
Synchus.

retymes, and of traytours / and in the meane season, whyle men slyde
loping for traytours / cometh he in and playeth the parte of an open
traytour / sayng onely that he colourerh his name / and callerh hym
selfe a trewe byshoppe / and is redye to accuse other men of treason /
that he myght escape hym selfe / but he is sure / that he wyll neuer ac-
cuse none of them that speake agaynst the auctorite of prynces.
But yf any man do begynne but to open his mouth, for to declare
that he hath no temporall power / than rageth he / & cryeth out, trea-
son, treason. But let vs retorne to theyr lawe / and se howe they can
proue it by gods worde / & howe it standeth with theyr treu subiectyd.
Is this reasonable / that the pope, and they (beyng by Gods lawe /
but subiectes) shall depose a kynge? What example haue they of our
mayster Chyrlt, or of any of his Apostles? What scripture haue they
to helpe them? Howe dare they be so bolde / as to depose a kynge /
whiche is ordeyned of God / & by his holy worde / haung none
example / nor scripture for them? Be they aboute God and his blessed
worde? But they wyl say / y the kyng was a wyked man / I answere,
the cronycles gyue contrary wytnes / howe y he was a very good ma,
and ryght symple. And bicause he was so symple, therfore Pipinus /
whiche had all the rule vnder hym / thought hym selfe better worthe
to rule than the kyng / so wrote by a byshop / & by his chaplaine vnto
the pope / & desired hym to gyue sentence, whether he was better wor-
thy to be a kynge / that had all the paynes & labours / or he that had
no labour nor coulde do nothyng? Howe the pope / to make Pipi-
nus his frende / and trustyng by that meanes to haue helpe of hym
agaynst the emperour / with whom he had than varpance / gaue sen-
tence with hym / and deposed the other / & made hym a monke: and
that this falsed shuld not be perceued / they sayned that the kyng had
ben a monke afore, called Samuell. This can I proue by good cro-
nycles. Howe let your noble grace consyder / yf it were ryght / not
only to depose suche a kynge / but also to make hym a monke? This
haue they done with other noble kynges, And no doubt / but that
same or worse / wyl they attempte to do vnto your grace / yf you dis-
please them / and at the leaste they wyl do theyr uttermoste.
Let all the hole rable of them / tell your grace / whan a treu preacher
of Chyrltes gospel dyd suche a dede? There is no offyter that hath
nede to be afraid of Chyrlt's gospel / nor yet of the preachers therof.
But of these pteu traytours / can no man be to ware. But let vs
graunt them / that the kyng was a wyked man. The scripture com-
maundeth vs / to obaye to wyked prynces / and gyueth vs none aucto-
ryte to depose them / as theyr owne glose testifyeth vpon this texte:
Subdite estoze. Who was more wyked than Herode? and yet sayne
Iohn suffered deeth vnder hym. Who was wykedder than Pilate?
And yet

We ought not
to depose a
king though
he be wyked

And yet Chyſte dyd not put hym downe / but was ſtudyed vnder
 hym. Whereby, whiche of all the prynces were good in the Apoſtles
 dayes? and yet they depoſed none. So that Gods worde and theyr
 owne lernyng/ and the practyſe of our mayſter Chyſt/ and his holy
 Apoſtles / are openly agaynſte them. Moreouer theyr owne gloſe 1. Petre. ij.
 ſayth/ that he was not depoſed/ bycauſe he was vnſuffeyent/ but by
 cauſe he was wanton and lecherous with women. O my lordes/ yf
 you be not aſtayed of the vengeance of God/ at the leaſt take a lytle
 ſhame of the worlde vnto you/ that haue ſo lōge tyme with ſo great
 tyranny defended theſe lawes / that be ſo openly agaynſt Gods or-
 dynance/ agaynſt Gods worde/ and agaynſt the comen ordynance
 and conſent of all the worlde. And this haue you done/ to the great
 iniury of noble prynces / to the intollerable ſubduynge of all noble
 bloude/ to the oppreſſion of theyr true ſubiectes / to the deſtruction
 of all comen welthes/ and ſynally to the euerlaſtyng dampnacyon
 of many a chryſtened ſoule. Tell me by your ſaythe / do you beleue
 that ther is a luyng God/ that is myghty to punyſhe his enemyes?
 yf you beleue it/ ſay vnto me/ can you deuyſe ſo/ to auoyde his ven-
 geance / whiche be ſo openly contrary to his worde? What anſwere
 thynke you to make to hym? Thynke you that he wyll ſuffre your
 worde to be herde / and let his Godly worde be deſpyſed? Thynke
 you, that it wyll be ſuffeyent to you to ſay/ that they be the lawes
 of holy church? Thynke you that he wyll be thus taught of you?
 Than were it tyme to plucke hym downe/ and ſet you vp. Say my
 lordes he is no chyld/ nor you ſhall fynde it no chyldes game / thus
 to tryſle and playe with his holy worde, and his bleſſed ordynance/
 ye and that to the deſpyſyng of the maker bothe of heuen & erthe.
 Say what ye wyll, ye are not able by no lernyng, to defende this
 matter/ neyther aſore God/ nor yet aſore our noble prynces/ nor aſore
 any man of lernyng/ that wyll be trewe to his prynces. For whiche
 way ſoeuer you tene you / our mayſter Chyſte/ and all his bleſſed
 Apoſtles be agaynſt you/ & wyll openly accuſe you/ that you be con-
 trary to theyr worde, and to theyr dede. Anſwere you to them / an-
 ſwere not to me. yf I holde my peace/ they wyll ſpeake. No/ it wyll
 helpe you but lytle/ to crye after your olde maner/ herelſe/ herelſe/ a
 traytoure/ a traytoure: for nowe you crye agaynſt your ſelues/ and of
 thoſe thynges, Chyſt & his Apoſtles do accuſe you. Do you thynke
 it with the ordynance of God/ that you ſhall depoſe a kynge/ becauſe
 he lyueth in aduoltery/ or is a lecherous man? yf you thynke it a
 lawfull cauſe/ why do you not preache it openly? why do you not lay
 it to kynges charges? why ſuffre you them to be kynges / that lyue
 in aduoltery? why do you not put your lawes in execution? You
 ſaye they be the lawes of holy church/ and therby may you depoſe
 prynces.

A supplication vnto the most gracious

princes. But if you will put them in execution, than were it much better, to be a bishop, or a prelate, than to be a kynge, or a duke. For you may lyue in whoredome, or in any other vngacious lyping, yea and that to the destruction of many mens soules / and yet no man so hardy to reprove you, as your owne lawe doth openly commaunde in these wordes. If the pope do dyualle with hym innumerable people on a hepe to the dyuell of hell, there to be punished for euer, yet shall no mortal man presume to reprove his synnes / for he must iudge all men / & may be iudged of no man. &c. A phetysse haue you an other lawe in your decretals, that no laye man may reprove a prelate. &c. How thinke you by these lawes / if they be not of the dyuell, tel me what is of the dyuell? you will both reprove, yea and also depose princes, but you will neither be deposed, nor yet reprovied of any mortal man. What thinke you your selues? Gods? But and ye will depose kynges for fornicacion / how wolde you handell kynge Dauid? and kynge Solomon? wolde you depose them because of aduoutry? So do you more than the prophet Nathan durst do. Wrethely will ye be content that the kynge shall depose you for fornicacion, than shall we shortly be rydde of the moste parte of you.

¶ But let vs come to Herode, that kepte his brothers wyfe, wolde you depose hym therfore? Than do you more than saynt Iohn durst do. For he durst no more do, but reprove his vice, & dare you depose hym? But let vs go forth with your lawe. What auctorite had the pope and you to set Bishops in that rounne / and not rather to let the kyngedome chose them a kynge? Our maister Chrysostome sayd, his kyngedome was not of this worlde. But you will be aboue kynges in this worlde / & not all only depose them / but also set in new at your pleasure. Moreover by what auctorite dyd the pope dyspence with the royalme of theyr othe? Your lawe sayth / that the holy churche of Rome is wonte so to do. I praye you of whome hath she lerned this same wonte? Who hath gyven her this auctorite? Can she discharge vs of our obedyence that we owe to our princes? Is not this of the lawe of god? Standeth it not also with the lawe of nature? yea do not turkes and infydels saythefully obey to theyr princes? Is not the princes powre of God? and will you depose this powre? or can you byspence with this lawe? Saynt Peter lerneth you, that you are more bounde to obey God and his lawe, than man. but you lytle regarde saynt Peters sayenge. Wherefore what say you to your owne lawe? whose wordes be these? We muste kepe vnto princes & powers sayth and reueres. &c. My lordes here you not, fidem, & oportet. And howe come you with your dispensacion, for our othe, and say, non oportet, that we are not bounde to be obedient to our princes, if you dispence with vs. Howe can you dispence with vs of our othe, seynge it is agayn

Distin. xl. Si
papa.

De hereticis
Cū ex iudicio
Et scut in.

Dauid.
Solomon.
Nathan.

Herode.

Matth. v.

xxii. q. v. Re-
sum officium

agaynst gods lawe? Here may men se, what teachers you haue ben,
and also be towarde God, and his holy apostles, and towarde your
noble pynces. And that this thyng may be clerely knowen, I shall
resyte an other pryncple of yours. Our cronycles maketh men-
cyon, that in the tyme of Edward the thyrde, pope Urban dyd be-
pose Peter, kynge of Spayne, because he was a bycibus lyuer, and
set in his stede one Harry a bastarde. Howe thynke you, standeth
this sacre with Chrystes doctryne? Whiche of vs all that preache the
gospel, hath gone aboute to do pynces suche a byllany? you do the
debe, and laye the blame to vs. Do you not remembre, howe that
in the dayes of Harry the forthe, a captayne of your church, called
Rycharde Scroupe, archbishop of Yorke, dyd gether an hoste of
men, and waged batayle agaynst his kynge? but God the defendre
of his ruler, gaue the kynge the byctory, whiche caused the traytoure
to be hedded, And than your fore fathers with theyr deuyllyshe
craft, made the people beleue by theyr false cronycle, that at currey
stroke that was gyuen at the bysshops necke, the kynge receyued an
other of God in his necke. And wher as the kynge was afterwarde
stryken with a synches, you made hym, and all his subiectes beleue
that it was Gods punishment, because he had hyde the bysshop.
And not thus contente, but you sayned after his deithe, that he dyd
myacles. Is not this to moche, both to be traytoure to your kynge
and also to sayne god to be dyspleased with your kynge / for punishment
of treason? finally to make hym a scynt? and also that God
had done myacles to the defendyng of his treason? Howe is it
possible to inuente a more pestilent doctryne than this is? Here is
Gods ruler dyspyled / and hereby is open treason mayntayned?
Thynke you? God wyll shewe myacles to forgyfe these thynges?
But no doubte the prouerbe is trewe / suche lippes suche lactuse /
suche sayntes suche myacles. Here were many thynges to be sayd /
but I wyll passe it ouer. I am sure you do remembre howe obeyntly
you drove kynge John out of his kyngdome? And the very orygynall
of the stryfe was, because there were. iiii. bysshops of Englande as
barbarous with the kynges grace / and because he requyred a dyne of
the pced monkes of Englande, for to mayntayne his warre agaynst
the Iryshe men / but they wolde geue hym none. Wherefore after the
kyng had sped well in Irelande / he reuenged hym of the monkes /
and toke of every place a certayne. For the whiche thyng your fore
fathers, mayntainers of your deuyllyshe doctryne, wrote vnto theyr
god the pope / & caused hym first to excommunicate the kynge / & after-
warde to interdyte the lande / & gaue it to a fetherlyngs son, whiche
was mayntayned thyngh your fathers / & your natural kynge compelled
to flee in to Wales / & there to tary tyll the tyme he was content to
make

An. d. ccc.
lvi.

make agrement with your holy p'dole the pope. The conditions of the
agrement were, þ he shulde fyist grue. xl. M. marke to þ. iiii. byshopps/
& make restitution to the p'ed monkes agayne / & also shulde grue to
Sandolphus, the popes lpgate, a great some of money. Finally, he
shulde be bounde to grue yerely to the pope of Rome a certayn great
some of money / & he & all his successours shulde receiue the lande of
the pope / & holde it in fee ferme / and vnto this your fathers set theyr
handes, and scales / byndynge them selues to compelle the kynge
to kepe this contracte. But yet you were not so contente / but after-
warde you founde the meanes that this good kynge was poysoned
by a traytorous monke of Wyndesore / because he shulde say, that he
wolde make a halpeny loose worthe. xx. s. pf he lped a yere. For the
whiche worde your holy monke was moued, and wente & confessed
hym selfe to the abbot, howe þ he wolde poyson the kynge for this /
and the one deuyll, as good as the other / the holy traytoure absolved
the holy murderer before the dede was done, and for this holy mur-
therer is there founded. v. masses for euer. This is the blessed obedy-
ence of your holy church. Howe wolde you crye? howe wolde you
paupe, pf we had handled a gentylmans dogge on this fashion? but
you can call vs poore men traytours / and in the meane season, you
bynge bothe kynge and kyngeborne in to scrupule and bondage?
What is treason? pf this be no treason? to bynge so honorable a
kynge, and his lande in to suche bondage / and to compell hym to re-
ceiue his naturall and free kyngdome, of suche a villayne, & hymme
of the deuyll. What can be saide or thought to defende this matter?
You haue not all onely done u. longe to the kynge / but vnto the pon-
gest childe that lyethe in the cradell / the whiche by your meanes is
bonde. And thynke it not sufficient, to say that it is not your dede:
for fyist you are the chyldren of these fathers / and you haue alwayes
allowed this acte. This hath ben blased / blowen / preached / & cryed
out / & all your booke full of this matter / & many a true mans bloude
hath ben shed for speakeinge agaynst this. And yet was there neuer
none of you / that euer dyd preache agaynst this damnable facte: but
with full consente / with full agreement, hothe in worde, dede, and in
wytyng, you haue allowed this treason. Wherefore I take you for
the auctors, as well as your fore fathers. I wolde not speake howe
dampnable it is, to institute masses, for a wyllynge traytoure, & mur-
therer: there was neuer no lernyng þ coulde allowe this. But there
is no remedy, be þ dyes agaynst his kynge / & for the mayntaynyng of
your treason must nedes be a serut / if masses / blyssynges / & myracles
wyl helpe / for all these be at your comaundement to grue wher ye lyst.
So that the poore men must be accused of insurrection and treason /
and we must bere all the blame / we must be dyscuss out of þ realme /
we must

We muste be burned for it / and as God knoweth, there is no people
vnder heuen, that more abhorreth, and with ernestier hert resisteth,
and more diligently both preache agaynst disobedience, than we do.
ye I dare say boldly, let all your booke be serched, that were written
this. v. l. peres, & all they shal not so declare the auarice of a prince,
and the true obedience toward hym, as one of our lytle booke shal
do, that be condempned by you for heresy, & all this wyll not helpe vs.
But as for you, you may preache, you may wyte, you may do, you
may sweare agaynst your princes / and also assyle all other men of
theyr obedience toward theyr princes, you may compell princes to
be sworne to you / and yet are you chyldren of obedience, and good
christen men, And yf ye dye for this doctryne, than is ther no remedy
but you must be sepites, and rather than sayle, ye shal do n. y. acles.
To proue this, I wyll tell you of a holy saynte of yours, of whom
your legende & cronicles maketh mencion, his name, as ye call hym
is saynt Germaine. So it chaunced, that in the tyme of kynge
Fouger he came in to Englande, in to a place where the kynge lay /
and desyred for hym and his company lodgyng, The kynge because
he kepte no comon Inne, wolde not receyue hym. So he departed
very angerly, and wente to the kynge's sheetherdes house, and ther
desyred lodgyng, and meate, and drynke for hym and his company.
The sheetherde was content to lodge hym, but he sayde he had no
meate for hym, sayng a yonge calfe, that stode suckyng of the damme
by the crybbe, The byshop commaunded the calfe to be slayne, and to
be dressed, and brought afoze hym, and he and his company ate it vp /
and after commaunded the bones of the calfe to be gathered togyther
and put in the calues shynne agayne / and so to be layde in the crybbe
by the damme, and by and by the calfe sturte by aloue agayne.
The nexte daye the byshop wente to kynge Fouger, and reuered
hym merueylous straitely, because he wolde not lodge hym / & sayde
that he was unworthy to be kynge, and therfore deposed hym / and
made his sheetherde kynge in his stede. Of the whiche sheetherde
as the cronicles maketh mencion, came afterwarde many kynges.
This is wyten by one called Petrus de natalibus, the whiche wy-
teth the lyues of all sayntes. I thynke no man wyll brude me to put
this thyng a lyfe, but yet it muste be preached, and taughte in your
churche, it muste be wyten in holy sayntes lyues, and he muste be a
saynt that dyd it, And why? because he deposed a kynge, and set in a
sheetherde. These shamefull & abhomyable thynges do you praise,
and allowe / and in the meane season, condempne vs for heretikes,
and for traytours. And yf we chaunce (moued by the abhomyable-
nes of your doctryne) to gyue you but one euill worde, than all the
worlde rekeneth vs vcharitable: But as for my parte, I take God

to recorde, afore whom I shall be saued and dampned, that though
 you haue done me shamefull wronge, and intollerable violence, yet
 with your owne persones, am I neyther dyspleased nor angry: but
 agaynst that horrible deuyll that dwelleth in you, that is the causer,
 and auctor, and maintainer of suche abhomyable doctrine, that
 is agaynst God & his blessed worde, agaynst hym (I say) is my quar-
 rell/and agaynst hym do I stryue, this is the truthe, let men take my
 wordes as they wyll. Is it not abhomyable, thynke you, so shame-
 fully to depose prynces? so to rebuke them? so to handle them? to com-
 pell them to be sworne to you? and to holde theyr landes of you? and
 to be your mynysters? to the great dyshonour of the luyng God,
 and blasphemynge of his blessed worde/and to the great dysppte of all
 noble potentates? Ye remembre the facte that is declared in your
 lawe of the noble Emperoure Frederike/and that wyrtay: Innocent
 the fourth, the thyng was this. The pope by the reason of certayne
 cōplayntes, made by the Emperours enemyes, lyted the Emperour
 to appere at Rome, and bicause the Emperour wolde not appere, he
 cursed hym with boke/bell/& candell/and afterwarde depose hym/
 and cōmaunded the electours to chosse another. This is the cause of
 your lawe breuely. But your terte declareth certayne articles a-
 gaynst the Emperour, which be these. The first, that he had sworne
 to kepe peace with the churche of Rome, whiche othe he brake, sayth
 the pope. The seconde/that he had done sacrilege/ in takynge. xxiij.
 galies laden with holy spirituall prelates, the whiche wolde haue
 gone to the counsell, gathered agaynst the Emperour in Lugdune.
 The thyrde, because the Emperour was accused of certeyne articles
 of heresye, the whiche be not set out. The fourthe, bicause that he
 had not payed the annuall penycon for the kyngedome of Sicill (the
 whiche the pope calleth the spiritual parrimony of saynt Peter) in
 the space of. ix. yeres. For these same thynges dyd he depose the Em-
 perour and pryncate hym of all his dignite/and assolyte all his sub-
 iectes of theyr othe, and obedience/ and cōmaunded every man not
 to obey hym, but all men that eyther gaue hym counsell, helpe, or
 fauour, to be excomynicate and cursed. This is your facte, this
 your dede, this is your doctrine, in this lernynge you be promoted
 doctours, and vnto this lernynge you are sworne/ these boke be red
 openly in your vniuersytes. Marke now, whiche of vs twayne
 be traitours, Eyther ye that do depose Emperours, and kynges, for
 suche tryfles, ye and also make a lawe therof, and swere vnto it, and
 compell all other to swere vnto it: Or elles we, that speake agaynst
 it, & say that you do wronge both to God, to his blessed ordynance/
 and to all noble potentates. For syt ye oughte to be vnder them,
 and not they vnder you/ & more can you not do, but repene by gods
 wythe

Inst. li. ii. de
 sen. i. re indi.
 co. ad Bpist.

Frederike
 the Emperour
 deposed.

Woꝛde they vnlawfull factes / but to depose them, though they be
infidelles, and heretikes, haue you none auctorite. Ye se haue our
maister Christ, & all his blessed apostles dyd vse them selues towarde
vbeleuynge prynces / they neither deposed them, nor yet caused them
to be sworne vnto them. What a matter is it to depose an Empe-
rour, because he layeth handes of a carnall cardynall? Is not Paule
and Peter, as holy as all the collage of you? And yet for layenge
handes of them was no man deposed. What and yf he kepe no
peace? is that a sufficient cause to depose hym? your owne lawe testy-
feth otherwyse. The holy church of God hath no swerde, but the
spirituall swerde, with the whiche she doth not kyll, but quychen.
Vpke wyse in an other place, blessed saynt Ambrose sayth, wyllynghly
wyl I neuer forsake you / but yf I be compelled I may not resiste /
I may sorowe / I may wepe / I may wayle. Agaynst weapons, a-
gaynst souldiers, agaynst the Gothans, my teares are my weapons.
For suche thynges be the defence of a preest, otherwise ought I not,
nor may not resiste. &c. Blessed saynt Ambrose durst not depose the
Emperour, nother for layenge hande of hym, nor yet for herespe / no-
ther for defendynge the libertie of holy church. But saynt Ambrose
was a symple soole, & knewe not what the lybertyes of the church
ment, nor yet what the holy spirituall fleshe of cardynals is worth /
and therfore he coulde do nothyng, but wepe and wayle. But and
yf he had ben halfe so wyse, as I rede of a certayne bpschop of Sal-
isbury was, he had done moze in this matter. In the tyme of kynge
Rycharde the seconde, it chaunced a baker of London to beate horse
byed in a bak ket / & ther came a seruant of the bpschop of Salisbury /
and toke by violence a lufe from hym. The baker asked why he dyd
so, and he made hym none answer, but brake his heed, and the poore
felow crept for helpe agaynst this violence, whereby the people were
moued in the strete to come out, and kepe the kynges peace / so that
the bpschops seruant was compelled to flee in to a house: Neuerthe-
les the people moued at this great violence, caused the constable to
come for to take hym, and to byngne hym to prysone, but anone the
mayre and the wyppes came and pacified the multitude, and so de-
parted, and dyd the bpschops seruant no moze hurte. Notwithstan-
dyng the bpschop of Salisbury, and the archebyschop of poꝛke were
so moued with the cite, for makynge a saute to the bpschops house,
that they made suche a complaynte to the kynges grace, that he put
the mayre, and bothe the wyppes out, and set in a knyght called Sir
Edward, to rule the cite, & all this was done for a horselufe. What
shall a man say to the pacifce of these spirituall men? They do open
violence / they brake the kynges peace / they robbe men of theyr
goodes, ye and that in the kynges chambꝛe, and also in the kynges
bye strete.

Xxiiij. q. iiij.
Inter hec.

Xxiiij. q. viij.
Conuenient

hye strete, to the great disdayne of insler, to the rebuke of (the kyng)
and to the great displeasure of his subiectes / and yet they can packe
the matter so, that they be white sonnes / and other men muste suffer
for it. I can beleue none otherwise, but that they haue wyched the
worlde, that men coulde neyther here nor se. For yf this be not a
shamefull facte, I can not tell what is shamefull. It had becomed
them a great bele better, to haue punished theyr seruant in example
of all other. But that was neuer the wont of the spirituall church,
and yet they wyll accuse all other men of insurrection, but I dare say
there was no rebelling in this realme this. v. c. yeres, yf the kyngs
had displeased them, but they were at the begynnyng of it. We do
rede in the tyme of kyng Henry the seconde, that he requyred of his
spiritual byshoppes, that none of them shoulde departe out of the lande,
but they shoulde synde hym surtyes, that they shoulde purchase no
thyng, to the hurte of the kynges person, and his realme. But the
spirite of the spiritual fathers wolde not agree to it, but rather soude
the meanes, that pope Alexander the thyrde (the whiche was an
suspect of the see of Rome) condemned this article for heresy, and
afterwarde one of the byshoppes (but agaynst his wyll) dyed for this,
and suche lyke articles mo, and you declared hym a synnyng mar-
tyr, but of this holy marty, I wyll speake moze a nother tyme. yf
this be obedience to princes, to intende and purpose to betray them,
and theyr realmes, than are ye the beste obedient chyldren that euer
were. But yf makynge of dissencion, debate, and stryfe / & settinge
men togyther by the eares, assolyng men of theyr othe towards
theyr princes, may be cause of insurrection, and treason: than are ye
the mayster of all maysters, and the beste conueyers of all iuglers.
What tecthe Englyshe herte wolde thynke, but that the kynges re-
queste was bothe godly and lawfull? What lernynge is able to de-
fende the contrary? Standeth it not with our synhelpe that we owe
towards our prince? ye with the trueth that we owe to our father
and mother? to our byethene and systene? and to all our countrey
men? Dothe not our othe made to our prince, bynde vs to it? & yet
you wyll not agree to it: but all your bokes muste rather be fulfilled
with contrary doctryne, and all men muste be condemned for here-
tykes, that speaketh agaynst them. Beleue me, yf I were your mozt
tall enemye (as you reken me to be, and as you haue well deserved,
that I shoulde be) I coulde so set out this matter, that all men shoulde
spytte at you: but I wyll vse my selfe charitably towards you / and
yf the matter had not ben so haynouslye, and so vyolentlye handled
of you, I wolde not haue gyuen you one yll worde. But nowe les
no man requyre of me, that I shoulde (vnto suche abhomytable and
detestable dyuell, as hath broughte in this wyched and shamefull
lernynge

Henry the
seconde.

Alexander
the thyrde.

settinge and maners) put of my cappe, and make so the curtesy / and
 geue saye wordes, and say: God geue you good morowe syr dyuel,
 howe fare you? I am glad of your welfare, and p'serpte, your lord-
 shipp both rule very graciously, and all men prayseth you, I doubte
 not but god shall prosper you. I say, let no man require this of me:
 for I am, and will be so taken, for his mostall enemy, where soeuer
 I do fynde hym, whether he be in lorde, or in byshop, saunge per-
 uenture, yf I spye hym dwellinge in a byshop, I will not handell
 hym with so rughe wordes, for the wepkenes of certayne men, as I
 wold, yf I fonde hym in a nother place. It were not vnicurable,
 yf I recyted here by name, the innocent bludde, that you haue shed
 in my tyme, for speaking agaynst your vniuersal doctryne. Alas what
 fault coude ye fynde in good mayster Wynter, whom ye haue caste
 away so violently? I dare say, there is not one amonge you (that
 knewe hym, but muste comende and prayse his vertuous lyfynge.
 And though you had fownde hym with a lytle fault (the which I
 thynke, and he were now a 'pue, shulde be no fault) alas wolde you
 caste away so cruelly, so good a man? and so trewe a man? bothe to
 God, and to his kynge? But I will retorne agayne to my purpose,
 and shewe a nother example, howe you haue lerned, and taughte to
 set kynges, and kyngdomes together by the eares, for the main-
 tinance of your dignities, and doctrynes. Pope Urban the. vi. whiche
 was chosen in the yere of our lorde. 1462. CCC. lxxviij. by sedition, and
 violence of romaynes, whiche wolde haue no cardynall of Fraunce,
 because they wolde the pope shulde be resydent in Rome. This Ur-
 ban (I say) deuyfing howe to maintayne his secte & parte agaynst
 his aduersary, whiche was called Clement, of whose syde the kynge
 of Fraunce hylde / sente to the kynge of Englande, Ed. the. iii. (the
 whiche as than was not well content with the frenche kynge) certayne
 bulles cōtarynyng cleue remysyon a pena, & a culpa, for all them that
 wold wage battell agaynst the kynge of Fraunce, & agaynst them that
 were of Clementes syde. And bycause the kynge & his lordes shulde be
 the wyllynger to take this batayle on them, he sent a cōmmission
 to the byshops, to rayse of the spiritualte a rate, for to pay the sou-
 byours with. Moreover because the duke of Lancaster had a tittle
 to the kyngdome of Castell, the whiche helde of Clementes syde /
 therfore the pope graunted, that parte of this money shulde also be
 deliuered to hym, yf he wolde wage batayle agaynst the kynge of
 Castell / promysing hym also, that he wolde surte the kynge of Por-
 tyngeale (whiche than had also barpaunce with the sayde kynge of
 Castell) to warre agaynst the sayde kynge / and to the maintaynyng
 of his warre / he wolde graunt the kynge of Portyngeale a dyme of
 his spiritualte thowgh all his realm. How much was gathered in
 Portyngeale

mayster,
 Wynter.

Johan Frof.
 in crow. 1462.

Sortynge, our shoyes maketh no mencyon: but in London, & in the diocese was gathered a tyme of golde, & in the hole realme of Englande was gathered. xxv. L. M. shylles, whiche makes in englyshe money. L. lxxvii. M. vii. L. lxxvii. s. And bicause this money was gathered of the spiritualite, & by theyr diligence / therefore the pope ordeyned Harry Spenser the byshop of Norwiche to be the chiefe captayn of this warre: but or euer the pope coulde bynge this matter to passe / he sent to the kynge / to his lordes / & to his byshops. xxx. bulles: So that at the last, this forsayde byshop of Norwiche was sente forth with a great nombre of men, in the wages of the church, And the duke of Lancaster lykewys agaynst the kynge of Castell. Theyr othe was gyuen them, to fyght agaynst no man, nor colitrey, that helde with pope Urban. And our cronycle saythe, that pope Urban wolde haue made peace betwene the frenche kynge, & ours at the laste. Howe thynke you? is not this a praty praty, to set men together by the eares? & than to make them beleue, & he wolde make a peace? Forste we must haue clene remysyon to fyght, & than we shall be cursed as blacke as a pottle, yf we wyll make no peace. And why? Because the pope hath his purpose. Is not this a goodly packynge of spirituall men? Is not here goodly obedience taught towarde prynces? Be not mens soules well sed with this doctryne? Be not these good fathers, that thus watceth nyghte and day, for the cure and charge, that they haue of mens soules? Marke how charitable, and lyberall that the holy fathers be, in dyscrebutynge of Chyristis merytes? Euery man that fyghteth in his cause, shall haue clene remission a pena, et a culpa, and must nedes be the chyld of saluacyon, Let Chyrist say, and do what he can, for the holy church hath so determyned. And & no man shulde doubt of it, there be. xxx. bulles graunted, and that vnder leade. And the church of Rome can not erre, for the spirituall lawe saythe: what the see of Rome doth approue, that must nedes be allowed: and that, that we reproveth / must be of no strength. Lykewys in an other place: So must the decrees of the see of Rome be accepted, as though they were spoken by the godly voyce of Peter hym selfe. Agaynst these thynges dare I not speake, for I wolde sayne be taken for a chyldened man: but yet I must be so bolde to speake one worde, the truthe is, the deuyll hym selfe hath blowen out these presumpuous voyces. And yet men must set both lyfe, and soule on these wordes. For there be. xxx. bulles of leade, to confyrme the matter. And that is a weyghty thyng. But whan kynge John, our naturall pryncce, shoulde haue had of theppes monkes, for the defence of his realme, but a small somme of money, Than was there neuer a bulle to gette, nor yet one byshop in Englande, to preache on his syde: But now. L. M. pounds is gathered

Dist. de. Si.
Ro. et Enim
vero et Nulli
fas. et ca. Sic
omnes,

gathered in one sente, and a great bele more, and all for the mayntay-
 nance of pope holy sithe. Was not this a merueylous subitacion?
 that we shoulde suffer our selues so lyghtly to be moued, to geue, not
 all onely so great a somme of money? but also to sende forth, in the
 defence of suche a wycked person, our naturall brethren, kynsmen,
 and contremen? I dare saye of my conscience, that in fyue hundred
 yeres, there was not suche a somme of money so lyghtly graunted,
 (were the cause neuer so great) vnto our ryghte naturall, and lege-
 loyde. y^e I do beleue, & if the hyngees grace at this same day, shoulde
 despye of the spiritualite, but halfe of this somme. I dare saye they
 shoulde neuer graunt hym with theyr good wyll, nor there shoulde not
 be founde one deuine in Englande, of the holy popes church, that
 coulde & woulde proue by good dilaite, that the hynge myght take
 it: & the spiritualite were bounde to geue it. Alas, what shall I say?
 beleue me, I do wante wordes, to the settinge out of this matter:
 where is naturall affection? where is naturall loue? where is fydelyte?
 where is truthe of heere, that men ought to haue, and to beare
 towarde theyr naturall prynces? towarde theyr natyue countrey? to-
 wardes theyr fathers & moe: & towarde theyr wyfes and chyldren?
 y^e towarde theyr owne lynes? God of his infinite goodnes hath gy-
 uen vs a noble pryncce, to the mayntaynyng and defence of all these
 thynges: and towarde hym we haue lytle or none affection. But vnto
 this ydole of Rome, are we redy to geue bothe body and goodes,
 and the more we geue, the better we are content. Was not this a
 vniuersallous poweryll thyng to this realme? to sende out so many
 thousandes? and to receyue nothing agayne? but desceytfull bulles?
 and spekes of hymnes? And a lytle peace or leade? y^e and worst of all,
 to make men beleue, that theyr saluacion shoulde hange on it? I dare
 saye boldely, that yf we pouer men (whiche be nowe condemned for
 heretikes, and also for traytours agaynst our hynge) had not ben,
 the realme of Englande had not stande in so good a caddicion as it is/
 for it had ben bounde still in theyr conscience, for to cheyde this
 wycked ydole. who durst haue hept the innumerable some of mo-
 ney, within this realme, & yerey was sucked out, by this adder, yf our
 Godly lernyng had not instructed theyr conscience? Let all the lybe-
 raries be sought in Englande: & there shall not be one booke wyrtten
 in iiii. C. yeres, and (admitted by the church of Rome, and by our
 spiritualite) founde: that dothe teache this obedience, and fydelyte
 towarde prynces: and deliuereth our realme, from the bondage of
 this wycked Satan the pope, or ellys that is able to satisfye, and to
 quiete any mans conscience within this realme: and yet I dare saye,
 he is not in Englande, that can repene our lernyng, by the doctrine
 of our master Chyche, or els of his holy Apostles. y^e men haue su-
 dyed, and

howe redy
 the spiritualite
 is to helpe
 the pope.

what profyte
 Englands
 by the gospel

D.I.

dyed, and

Ja. vi. lib. ii.
ut de iure in-
rando c. Ego
Episcopus.

The othe of
the byshoppes
made to the
pope.

In doctus in
decretis Gre-
gorij minoris
c. In nomine.

The Pope
chargeth the
byshoppes oth/
as often as it
maketh for
his profyte.

dyed, and deuyfied bothe they myght byrnyge our myghty pryncce, and
his noble realme, vnder the fecte of this deuyl. There coulde be no
thyng handeled so secretly within this realme, but yf it were, eyther
pleasant, or profytable to the pope to knowe, than were all the bys-
shops in Englande swome, to reuelate that matter to hym. This
may be well proued, by theyr shamefull, and traytorous othe, that
they (contrary to Gods lawe / mannes lawe / and order of nature)
hath made to this false man, the pope. The wordes of theyr othe,
wyrtten in theyr owne lawe, be these. I Byshop. A. from this houre
forth, shal be faythful to saynt Peter, to the holy church of Rome, &
to my lord the pope, to his successours, lawfully entryng in to the
popedome. I shal not consent in counsell, nor in dede, that he shulde
lose eyther lyfe / or hymme / or he shulde be taken in any way. resp.
His counsell, that shal be shewed vnto me, eyther by hym selfe, or
elles by his letters, or by his legates, I shal open to no man, to his
hurte, or damage. I shal helpe to defende and maintayne the pa-
pacy of the church of Rome, the rules of the holy fathers (surynge
myne order) agaynst all men lyfynge. I shal come to the counsell,
wha soeuer I be called, onles I be lawfully let. The popes legate
I shal honorably entreate, horbe goynge, and comynge, and in his
necessities, I shal helpe hym. I shal visite petyr / eyther by myne
owne propre person / or els by some sure messenger, the see of Rome
onles I be dyspersed with. So helpe me god, & this holy Euangelist.
¶ There hath ben wonders packynge vfed / and hath coste many a
thousande mens lyues / ere that the spiritualte broughte it to passe
that all they shulde be swome to the pope, and othe none obedience
to any man, but to hym onely. This matter hath ben wonderous
craftely coueyd, for at the begynnyng the byshoppes were not swome
so straitly vnto the pope, as now. For I do rede in the tyme of
Gregory the thyrde / whiche was in the yere of our lord. 84. C. lix,
how theyr othe was no more, but to swere for to kepe & sayth of holy
churche, and to abyde in the vniyte of the same / and not to consent for
any mans pleasure to the contrary / to promyse also to seke the pro-
fytes of the church of Rome. And yf any byshoppes dyd lyue agaynst
the olde statutes of holy fathers, with hym they shulde haue no con-
uersacion / but rather forbyde it, yf they coulde, or elles trewely to
shewe the pope of it. This othe continued a great many of yeres
till that a mortall hatred sprang betwene th. Emperour, and the
pope, for confynnyng of byshoppes, than as many byshoppes as were
cōfynned of the pope, dyd swere the othe, that I haue fyll wyrtten.
For this othe, that Gregory maketh mencyon of, was not sufficient:
because that by it, the byshoppes were not bounde to betraye theyr
prynces, nor to reuelate theyr counselles to the pope. The whiche
thyngs

the Steele, and to some that bishpe holysayntes, and suche lyke great
 matters, whiche pertaineth unto hugo to pape ppe. wherfore I do
 eechen, that after the same forme of your othe, we haue but fewe bps-
 shops, but that the ppele be troubled (till it as you wyl) bothe a-
 gaynst God, agaynst saynt Peter, and agaynst every pynce. It fo-
 loweth: And to the holy churche of Rome. What nedeth this? What
 good can you do to the holy churche of Rome? Or what profite is
 it to her, that you swere: where is any request of her in holy scripture
 that you shulde swere? Thinke you þ the wyl compelli you by your
 othe to be true to her? than must she nedes seue you of pecturie: yf
 you breake your othe. But marke howe the churche of Rome is
 set in your othe, as the better persone, before the Pope. wherfore it
 must nedes folowe, that the pope is vnder the church, and lesse than
 the church, and no heed of the church: excepte you wyl make hym
 a thyde persone, that neyther pertaineth to saynt Peter, nor yet to
 holy churche: but is a thyng of hym selfe, and as your lawe sayth:
 nother God, nor man, but myddle betwene them bothe: that is as
 nyche to say, after my learninge, as the deuyll hym selfe. But what
 meaneth it, that you swere only to the holy churche of Rome? wyl
 you be traytors to the holy churche of Constantinople? or els to
 the holy churche of Englande? Or do you thinke other churches not
 holy? tell vs what you meane: for it semeth a marvellous thyng,
 and also a speyall thyng, that you make suche an othe all onely to
 the holy churche of Rome, namynge none other church. Why are
 you not rather sworne to hepe, and to fede, to nuryll, to begethe
 to your owne church? of the whiche you haue taken cure & charge
 as saynt Peter commaundeth you. Be that you fede Chyldes flocke,
 whiche is amonge you. For of this you haue taken your name / ly-
 apynge dignite. You are called by bishop of Wyndesore, of London,
 and of Wyndesore. And of these you are lede, but these be forgotten in
 your othe: and these you lyke regarde: but to magnifye the holy
 churche of Rome, that yfuerly you neuer a peny: but robberth all o-
 ther churches, you must be straitly sworne. And why? Antechurche
 must haue a cloke for his treason. For nowe yf he be a traytour, he is
 to be excused, why? for he is sworne to it. But what I tell you is
 I do take out of it? The truth is, that I do take, that you swere,
 to begethe, to nuryll, & fede all membes of all other churches, & pynce
 those, that lyueth after the whoredome, and myschefe, that is vied in
 Rome. For yf you shulde be bounde to seke out in Rome, children
 and those, that lyueth after the spynge of holy churche, I
 thinke you shulde sende bursewe. yf you sende those, you wold churche
 thome to be sworne, ergo, it must folowe, that you are sworne to the
 worst sorte of Rome. And that your holy churche of Rome is taken
 for lye

In Piohe. vi.
 ca. Quoni. in
 verbo papa.

L. p. vi. 7.

suche a foyle/as lyueth agaynst God/ agaynst his blessed worde / a-
 gaynst the hyngge of holy apostles, agaynst the condicions of our
 holy mother the church. I coulde say, in all whozdom, in all op-
 pressyon, in all sodomy, in all murder, in all pompe, & pryde, summa
 summarum, in all maner of myschefe/that tonge can tell, or herte can
 expalle. But I wyl not say so, for men wold reken me vcharitable,
 and to behement. Neuertheles all the worlde knoweth / that you
 do rechen your selfe, by the vertue of your orbe, bounde to no men:
 but vnto suche, as in very dede, lyueth after this vngreacous maner;
 and yet wyl you be sayrlyfull, & true vnto them, to mapntayne them,
 and to defende them agaynst all men. Ye I dare saye, yf that they
 conscience had not condemned them of suche myschefe, they wolde
 neuer haue desyred this assaunce of you, or els haue thought it necessa-
 ry to haue requyred an orbe of you. But y verite is, they be noughtr,
 and haue nede of mapntaynes in theyr myschefe. And also suspecte
 you, not to be true, excepte you made an orbe to them, ye and seafely
 than, oules that you in very dede, at tyme and place conuenient, do
 breake your pynces / for that is the cause of your orbe. And other
 profers hath not the hyngge by it. I wyl be reported by all practyse
 that euer came out of your orbe. It foloweth, And to my lord the
 Pope. I wolde gladly lerne, what the pope hath gotte the dignite
 of a lord. This thyng is lyrie regarded of my lordes the byshops,
 so hyngge in suche a worldly dignite, ye they wyl say, it is but a rep-
 se, and moche men for speaking agaynst it. But the truth is, yf they
 durle as moche now, as in tymes passe/they wolde buene for this
 lyrie thyng, the best lord in Englaunde. For I dare say, it hath cost ma-
 ny a mans lyfe, or euer they brought the Pope to lordshyp. Blessed
 saynt Peter (whose succellour the Pope bolster hym selfe to be)
 knewe nothyng of this lordshyp, for he saythe vnto his felowes,
 they shall not exteple no lordshyp ouer the congregacyon. And lyke
 wyle saynt Paule durst not take vpon hym to commaunde, as a lord,
 collections to be made for poore men, but mchely desyres them with
 out any lordshyp. Also in a nother place: Let no man iudge vs, but
 as the ministers of Christ. Blessed saynt Paule rekeneth hym selfe
 but a mynyster, & a seruaunt: And yet the day hath ben, that he was
 so good, as my lord the Pope. Our master Christe, that came to
 teache both Peter, and Paule, lerned his disciples not to vse them-
 selues as lordes, but as seruaunts. And make the occasyon that he
 had: There be two newe disciples brought vnto hym, and the olde
 (beinge not yet percyte) thoughe to sayne, that these two shoulde
 aboue all other, the one of the right hande, and the other of the lefte
 hande: But our master Christe reuereth this proude somache of
 theyr, very straitly, sayinge: Howe the princes and rulers of the

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1. Petri. v.

11. Corin. viii.

1. Corin. iiii.

Math. xx

Sirius ser-
mon.

infidelles hath power ouer theyr subiectes, but so shall not ye. For so
that wyll be greatest amonge you, shall be least. Where our mayntie
Christe leaueh none hypocryse, that they shoulde be called leaste in
name, and be greatest in very dede: but he wyll that this doctrine shal
be expressed in theyr dedes. Saye lord the pope, calleth hym selfe in
wordes, the seruant of all seruantes: but in very dede he wyll be
lord ouer all lordes. Ye and my lordes the byshoppes, wyll be sworne
to hym, as vnto a lord: and they wyll reken them selfe perjured, yf
they burne not all them, that wyll take the pope but for a seruant.
Is not this a marueylous hypocryse? to be called seruant of all
seruantes? and yet desyre for to be taken as lord and kynge ouer all
kynge? Ye and vnto this be our byshoppes sworne, because they wyll
be obedyent to theyr prynces. But & theyr consciences were trypped,
you shoulde fynde no man yet there as a kynge, but my lord the pope.
And we poore men muste be condemned, for reprobation of this.
And why? Merely because my lordes haue sworne to hym, agaynst
theyr pryncce, and all his true subiectes. But howe standeth it with
your othe towardes your pryncce, for to be sworne to the pope? Whiche
is not all onely an other lord: but also contrary, yee as the world
nowe is, the greatest mortall enemye, that our pryncce hath. For I
dare saye, that yf this wretched Clement coulde drowne our noble
pryncce with one worde, it shoulde not be longe vndone, sine clementia.
The comen sayinge wente in Hamburgh, that this captyf hath not
all onely excommunicated our noble pryncce, but also gyven away the
kyngdome to an other. And this facte must you defende, for you are
sworne to the pope. Ye I dare say, yf you had convenient occasion,
you wolde declare your fidelite. I do iudge after your factes, that
you haue done to kynges in tymes past, whan soeuer that you had
power & myghte to bynge to passe that, whiche you had concurred
agaynst your pryncce. Yf you thynke I iudge a myse, or els do you
wrynge, let me be put to my morte/and you shall se, what an hepe of
holy factes that I wyll bring out of your owne cronicles and booke,
for the whiche you wyll be lauded, and praysed byrly, that you haue
so faythfully stucke vnto this dampnable ydole of Rome. Ye I dare
say, it had ben heresye within this two yeres, to haue wryten, or sayd
thus moche agaynst this hymme of the deuill, on our prynces syde.
This all the world can testyfy, wherfore I thynke you wyll put
me to no tryall. But to your othe. Howe dothe it stande with your
allegiance towardes your pryncce, to be sworne to the pope? Your othe
I dare say, that a lege man can make none othe of fydelytie, to none
other man, but to his owne kynge. Howeouer you do renounce your
othe made vnto our pryncce, wherby you do renounce all clausys,
wordes, and sentences, made vnto the pope, whiche he hurtfull
of prynces.

In. vi. lib. ii.
de senten. et
re iudicatis.
ca. pastoralis
in verbo de
mog.

as prejudiciall to his brether. Both agreeth these. ii. othes? you may
set them together as well as you can: but I knowe no wayes to a-
nworde your puerpe. For the very truthe is, that the hynges grace, and
his counsell, consydering your othe made to the pope, to be prejudi-
ciall to his regall power, causeth you, in your othe afterwarde made
unto hym, to reuoke those thynges, that you had afore sworne to the
pope, and to declare that his grace and his counsell, dyd rechen your
othe made to the pope, to be agaynst hym, therefore he maketh you
to reuoke it by name, namynge the same othe, & also the same pope.
So that you may clerely perceyue, howe your prynce doth suspecte
you, for your othe makinge. And in very dede, the popes meaninge
and yours was none other: but for to betray the hyng & his realme.
And therefore, as lone as there was any varyace, betwene the hyng
and the pope, than were you fynde of all, assayed of your alleggiance
betwe unto your hyng, and that absolucion, was blasen, & bloden,
preached, and taught, throughtout all the world, and all doctes and
postes muste be decked with papers and bulles, for your discharge.
But for to helpe your prynce, you coulde neuer be discharged of your
heretypall, and trayterous othe made unto the pope, agaynst your
prync. Here neither Peter nor Paule can helpe, nor there is no key
that can open & locke. O lorde God: howe haue we ben bynded?
thus traytorously to handle agaynst our naturall prync? But howe
this caterpyller is come to be a lorde, and hath broughte hynges un-
der his fete, I wyll speake (God wyllynge) after this in a peculier
creastyll. It foloweth, & to his successors, lawfully & regularly en-
steyning in. After what lawe? I rede in your owne booke of lawe, after
whiche me thyngeth there be very fewe byshoppes made. wherein I
fynde amonge all other good thynges, that he shulde be chaste of ly-
tyng/miche/gentle to speake: & mercifull/well lerned in the newe
and olde testament, & that he shulde not forbed maryage, nor shulde
blame the eatynge of fleshe / and shulde also beleue, that all maner
of synnes, as well actuall, as orygynall, be clerely forgiven in bap-
tisme. Howe many of these thynges the popes holynes is indewed
with all, and howe many that he alloweth, his owne booke, & dedes
wyll testyfy. Wherefore I rechen that your othe doth not meane this
lawe/nor yet & lawe that blessed saynt Paule wyrteth of. For than
I rechen, that by the vertue of your othe, you haue not ben boinde to
one pope this. LXX. yeres, so that it muste folowe, that you haue
other lawes, than blessed saynt Paule speaketh of, or the counsell of
Carthaginence, to chose your Pope by: the whiche, as farre as men
can rechen, by comune experience, and practyse, be these.
In pryncis, he that shall be able to be Pope, muste be a vengeable
fyaunt/never keepynge peace/ but all wayes warpyng for the defence
(as ye call

Recuse the
bishops pers
son who call

Bishops be
assayed of
their othe to-
warde the
prync: but
neuer frome
othe made to
the pope.

Bl. xxi. And
episcopus et
confessio. iij.
Cartha.

i. Timoth. ii.
Tua pino.

who is lawe
ful to be pope

[Handwritten signature]

(as ye call it) of our peters patrimonye. To suffer no paynce to dwelle in rest by hym, but to snatche his possessions, to the holy church of Rome. To set pynces together by the eares / till they be both wey, & than to take the matter in his hande, & neuer to make an ende, till bothe parties hath gyven some possessions to his holy fatherhood, to aslopie the soules, & hath ben sayne thynge by's paynynge. And he that dare most boldey, and with lesse shame, hepose pynces, without a cause, he is best able to be pope. He that can by any trayne / craft / or subtilty, byrge vnder hym any byshop, or any spirituall persone, or inuent any newe clause in thers or he, he is to be allowed afore other. Moreover, he that keepeth fewest women, and hath most of them, that you wote of, he is holper, and apte to be heed of your church. And he that can most tyantly burne men for preaching of the gospel / and he hym selfe to take no labours therein. Item to burne prestes that mary wyues / and he hym selfe, to lyue in all myschese, & whoredome: ye in suche abhominablenes, as no man may with honestye speake (you knowe what I meane) this man I say, hath a good testimonie, afore his spirituality, that he is a lawfull man to that offyce. Furthermore, he that is a whores sonne, as our holy father is now, and can fynde the meanes, that xij. men wyll say swere them selfe, that he is lawfully borne, as this holy Clement dyd. This is a fete fath, for suche chyldren. Finally, he that can geue most money, and bye the greatest parte of cardynalles of his tyme, he is best worthy to be called pope / and to sit in peters steele. For it can not be unknowne to you, howe that Thomas woulde, an holy pryncer of your church, wolde haue ben pope, when this Clement was chosen, & he dyd offer for it a reasonable peny: But Clement halld hym out of conspyte with. x. li. more than he offered: and so he was iudged best worthy, and entred in lawfully, and regularly, and vnto hym our byshops be sworne, and obedient. And why? because they wyll haue suche a heed, as they be members: For howe coulde elles they kyngdome stande? For yf one shulde be chosen, after the rule of blessed saynt Maule, or elles after the lypynge of these newe heretikes, whiche be simple, & poore, and care not for no dignities, nor wyll neyther swere, nor fyghte, and wolde rather mary a wyfe of theyr owne, than take other menues, and alwayes studyenge, and preachinge Gods worde, sekynge onely the honour of God, and the profyte of his neyghbour, and wyll be subiecte and obedient in all thynges (desyrynge none excepcion) to his pynce. This man I say, shulde be vnlawful, and not eleigible, for he were able to despoyle the hole kyngedome of the pappes / and not worthy to receyue an othe of my lordes the byshops, whiche wyll not gladly be perjured for suche a mans sake.

For be

For he were able to destrope the boole churche of Rome, vnto the
 whiche our byshoppes ben before sworne. It foloweth in your othe,
 I shall not consent in counsell or in dede, that they shulde lose eyther
 lyfe or membre, or if they shulde be taken or be trapped, by any euyl
 meane. What nedde you to swere thus vnto the pope? bothe not the
 order of charyte bynde you thus to vse your selfe towarde all men?
 that is to say, neyther to hurte them, nor to harne them, neyther to
 betraye them, nor betray them. But all men must be betrayde, and
 with craftre and soteltye vndone, for the mayntenance of this one
 wretched pson. The truthe is, that neuer man spake agaynst this
 popet, but you destroyde hym, & betrayde hym. But this popet hath
 blasphemed, and betrayde all potestates, and yet you were neuer a-
 gaynst hym. And why? bicause you be sworne to hym. And you wyll
 kepe your othe, be it ryghte or wyngre. But in your laste othe,
 whiche hath ben newly made, is added this clause, That no man
 shulde lay violent handes vpon them in any wyse, or any wyngre
 shulde be done vnto them by any maner of colour. This parte is
 newly brought in, for the fleshe of the pope hath ben so holy, that
 no man myghte touche it but harlores. Chyrtien men muste pacy-
 ently suffre iniuries and wyngres, but your heed wyll forswere that
 popet, and maynteyne hym selfe throughe your powet agaynst all
 men. Howe nere that this is the apostles luyng, all chyrtien men
 can well iudge. It foloweth in your othe. Theyr counsell that shall
 be swered vnto me, eyther by theyr letters, or by theyr messengers, I
 shall open to no man to theyr hurte or damage. Let prynces beware,
 when the Pope sendeth counsell vnto you, for the meanyng is
 to betraye them. For all the worlde knoweth, that the pope and you
 bothe lyke regarde, what the beggars of the worlde dothe handle:
 But what emperours, kyniges, and dukes dothe handle, that muste
 you let, and destroye. For that is the Popes counsell. And you may
 not shewe it to no man. No not to your kynge. And why? bicause
 you are sworne to the pope. But what say you to your othe made
 vnto your prynce? wherein you swere, that you shall be saythfull and
 trewe, and bere vnto hym above all creatures / loue / and fauour / to
 lyue and to dye with hym / and to open vnto hym all maner of coun-
 seils, that may be hurtfull vnto his grace. Howe is it well knowne,
 that the pope hath done and dayly dothe handle suche counsell, as
 be agaynst our prynces honour, and conseruacion. And yet you may
 neyther tell it to your prynce, nor let it. And why? bicause you be
 sworne to the pope, and forsworne to your prynce. Tell me when
 any thyng was opened vnto our prynce, by you, that the pope had
 handled in counsell agaynst our prynce. Of this thyng I wyll take
 recorde of his noble grace, whether I say true or false. And yet must

E. 1.

I be ac-

quest. vi. c.
Answ.

I be accused of treason. And why? because you are sworne to the Pope. And I am trewe to my kynge. It foloweth. I shall helpe to defende and mayntayne the pappyry of Rome, agaynst all men, savinge myn ordre. And in your newe othe, nowe in our days made, is added, The regalles of saynte Peter. What and in all men be contayned your prynce? You muste nedes defende hym. And why? because ye be sworne to the pope, and forsworne to your prynce. For your othe to your prynce is, to defende hym with all your wylt and reason agaynst all men. Nowe muste you forsake one of them. And your practyse hath ben alwayes to forsake your prynce, and stycke to the pope. For of your othe made to your prynce, you have ben often tymes assayed, And as your lawe saythe, the churche of Rome is wonte so to do. But of your othe made unto the Pope, there is no absolucion, neither in heven, nor erthe. Yetther was it euer redde/herde/nor sene, that there coulde be any dispensacion for it. Let me be reported by all the bookes, that euer were wyrtten/ and by all the bulles, that euer were graunted/ and by all the experience that euer was vled. And yf I be founde false, let me be blamed. And yet I am sure many men wyll rechen, & I speake vnscheytably. But I wolde sayne lerne of all the charitable men in Englande, with what other englyshe words, that I shulde or coulde declare this intollerable or subtyll treason, thus longe and shamefully vled agaynst my prynce, whiche is necessary to be knowne. And I am compelled by violence to declare both my confessyon, and lernynge in this cause. For men hath not ben ashamed to reposte, that I wolde (whiche am but a wretche, a pooze symple worme, and not able to kyl a catte, though I wolde do my vttermoste) to make insurrection agaynst my noble and myghty prynce, whom (as God knoweth) I do both honour/ worshyp/ loue/ and fauour/ to the vttermost power of my herte/ and am not satisfyed, because it is no more. This I speake afore God. Let hym be mercyfull unto me, as it is trewe. And yf I were not so true in myn herte, it were not possible for me so earnestly to wyte agaynst them, whom I do rechen to handie vnsaythfully, & vntreuly with theyr prynce, ye agaynst bothe Gods lawe, and mans lawe. The very truthe is, I can suffre (thugh Gods grace) all maner of wronges/ iniuries/ and shlaunders. But to be called an heretyke agaynst God/ or a traytour agaynst my kynge, he lyueth not, but I wyll say, he lyeth. And wyll be able so to proue hym, yf I may be reported by my workes, or dedes/ by my conuersacyon, or lyuynge/ or by any thyng that euer I dyd. But vnto my purpose, the bishops both were one othe to the pope, & an other contrary to theyr prynce. And yet they wyll be taken for good and saythfull chyldren. And I pooze man must be condemned, and all my workes for hereby/ and
no man

no man to rede them vnder the payne of treason. And why? bicause
 I wote agaynst theyr peturie toward thei pyrice. But howe co-
 meth saynt Peter by these regalles, that you are sworne to defende?
 saynge that he was neuer no kynge, but a fylsher? All the worlde
 knoweth, that regalia belongeth to kynges, and to lyke power of
 kynges. Why are you not rather sworne to defende Peters net, and
 his fylshery? the whiche thynges he bothe had, and vfed, and neuer
 regalles. But these thynges wyll not mayntayne the holy churche
 of Rome, & therfore ye swere not to mayntaine the. But what mene
 you by þe sentence, Saunge myn ordie? Why say you not, Saunge
 my kynges pleasure? your glose saythe, you may not defende these
 thynges with weapons. But oblorde God. what an vnschameful-
 nes is this? thus to delude with wordes all the hole worlde? Men
 knoweth, that when the Pope hath neede of your helpe, there is no
 men soner in armes than you are, yf you cal armes harneys, bylles,
 and glaues, swordes, & gunnes / and luche other thynges. Do you
 not remembre howe lone the byshop of Rowmptche, Henry Spen-
 cer, was in armes to defende pope Urbane? It were but toly to re-
 lye examples. In the yere of our lorde. 1164. was there a
 controuersy betwene the kynges grace, & the byshops of Englande,
 for certayne prerogatyues belongynge to the kynge. Wherfore the
 kynge required an orde, and a confirmacion of the byshops, as co-
 cernynge those articles and prerogatyues. But answer was made
 of the byshops, that those prerogatyues, cum omni⁹ prauitatis
 in regis scriptis continetur, were of none effecte, nor strength, bicause
 they dyd forbydde to appelle to the court of Rome, onles the kynge
 gaue lycence. And bicause that no byshop myght go at the Popes
 callynge out of þe realme, without þe kynges assent. And bicause that
 clerkes shulde be conuicted in crimynall causes afore a temporall
 iudge. Also bicause the kynge wolde here matters, as concernynge
 tythes and other spirituall causes. And bicause that it was agaynst
 the See of Rome, & the dignitie of the same, that a byshop shulde
 be conuicted afore the kynge. Brutely, they wolde not be vnder the
 kynge, but this addiccion shulde be set vnto it, Saluo honore dei,
 et ecclesie Romane, et ordine nostro, that is, We wyll be vnder your
 grace, saunge the honour of God, of the churche of Rome, and of
 our order. The cause why they dyd excepte these thyngs, was this,
 as they them selues graunte: For kynges resceyued theyr auctorities,
 and power of the churche, but the churche resceyued her auctorite
 of Christ only. Wherfore they conclude, that the kynge can not com-
 maunde ouer the byshops, nor absolue any of them, nor to iudge of
 tythes, nor of churches, neither yet to forbyd byshops, the hande-
 lyng of any spirituall cause. Is not here a mercerous blindnes
 and obliu-

In verbo. fals
 uo ordine.

These articles
 be now gradu-
 red and ere
 none heresy.

A supplication vnto the most gracious

Kyngs power
of God imme-
diatly.

i. Petri. ii.

Roma. xiii.

and obstaynacy agaynst thei prynces? They wyll make it agaynst
Gods honour, to obey thei kynges / and are not ashamed to say in
the kynges face, that his power is of them. But I praye you whe-
ther was kynges before bysshops? or bysshops before kynges? You
shall fynde, that God had longe admytted kynges, or any bysshop
(as you take hym) was thought of. Doth not the holy ghoſte com-
maunde, that we shulde honour kynges? Also in a nother place, Let
all men be vnder the hygh powers / for the power is of God / and he
that resisteth the power, resisteth Gods ordinaunce. Here blyſſed
ſaynt Paule ſayth, that kynges power is of God, & not of bysshops.
Forthermore, what reason is it to defende the Popes prerogatyue
agaynst your prynces? Is not ybur pryncce neuer, and more naturall
vnto you, than this wretche the pope? But here is a thyng, that
maketh me to marueyle. Whan you ſwore to the Pope (ſaunge
your ordre.) Is as moche to ſaye, as you ſhall not vſe no weapons:
but els you ſhall be redy and obediēt in all thynges. But whan you
ſhall ſwore to your kyng, than (ſaunge your ordre) is as moche
to ſaye, as you haue auctorite to conſirme kynges, and to be thei ſe-
lowes, and neyther to be obedyēt vnto them, nor yet to anſwere
to any Juſtice before them / but clerely to be exempted, and they not
to medle with you, excepte they wyll grue you ſome worldly promo-
cyon. yf I wolde vſe my ſelfe as vncharitably agaynst you, as you
haue handeled me, doubtles I coulde make ſome thyng of this, that
ſhulde diſpleaſe you. Howe wolde you crye? and howe wolde you
handle me pooze wretche, yf you had halfe ſo moche agaynst me, as
this is? But I wyll let you paſſe, God hath preſerued me heretofore
of his infinite mercy agaynst your insatiable malice / and no doubt
but he ſhall do the ſame ſyll. I wyll returne to your othe.
It ſoloweth. I ſhall come to the Synode whan I am called, onles
I ſhall be laufully let. But why do you not ſwore to compell the
Pope to call a counſell? ſeynge that it hath ben ſo often, and ſo in-
ſtantly required of hym, by many & noble prynces of Chriſtendome,
ye ſeynge that all Chriſtendome doth require with great ſyghes / an
ordre to be taken, and ſet in the hyghſt atycles of our faythe? But
vnto this you are not ſwoyne. And why? bicauſe it is agaynst your
holy popet of Rome. For yf there were a generall counſell, both he,
and you doth knowe, that there muſt nedes ſolowe, both ouer hym
and you a ſtrepght reſormacyon. Therefore after my coſiſell ſay, that
you can not come, for you be lawfully let. It ſoloweth I ſhall hono-
rably entreate the popes Legate, both goyng, & comyng, and in his
neceſſite I ſhall helpe hym. I pray you ſe, and proude well, that he
go not a beggyn, as Peter dyd. And ſe alſo, that he neyther preache
nor teache / but pyll, and poull, with all meſchefe, & vnſhamelaſhnes.
And why?

And why? because you are sworne this to maintayne. It foloweth. I shall vsyte perely my selfe, or by some other messenger the Pope of Rome, onles I be dispensed with of them. I pray you what pertayneth this to the office of a byshop, perely to visyte Rome? Christ and the moste of his Apostles, were neuer at Rome, and yet they were merely good churshen men. But I rede in the traditions of the Turke, that certeyne of them must perely visyte theyr Machomet. From whom I thynke you haue taken this custome. Your owne lawe sayth, & vnto this clause must these byshops all only be bounde, that be immediatly vnderneath the Pope. Howe are not you suche for you swere in your othe to the kynge, that you wyll immediatly take your byshoppyke of hym, and holde it all onely of his grace. Wherfore than do you here swere agaynst your owne lawe? And also agaynst your othe made to your prynce? Moreover you knowe that there was a statute made in the dayes of kynge Henry the seconde, that no byshoppe shulde go out of the realme, without the kynges lycence. Are you not bounde to kepe this Custome? But answer, That the pope hath dispensed with you, and that you are not bounde to kepe any obedience towarde the actes that your prynce maketh. Moreover, I merueyle soore, that you be all so straptely sworne of so longe tyme, and neuer one of you that euer wente in my dayes to Rome, to discharge his othe. And why? Because you are dispensed with. But were it not as good to leaue it out of your othe at the first, scynge you entende not to kepe it, as afterwarde to dispense with you for it? No forsothe, for than the Pope coulde not bynde you to come to Rome at his pleasure, and betraye your kynge, and all his counsellers. But in your othe that is newly made, and that you haue sworne laste, is added. That if the Pope be on this syde the mountaynes, you shall visyte hym euery yere. But if he be beyonde the mountaynes, than euery thre yeres. Wone that knowe not your practise and the circumstaunces of your factes that hath ben done, wolde lyttell suspecte this addycyon. But the very truthe is, ther is a myscheuous & abhomyable treason in it agaynst prynces. For if it chaused the emperour, or els any tempozal prynce nere vnto Rome, to fall at varpaurce with the Pope, than wold the Pope straghte runne in to fraunce, that is to say, on this syde the mountaynes, where you must visyte hym perely. And why? Because your god is in dysstresse, and hath conceived a dedly hatred agaynst a prynce, and can not bypge it to passe without your helpe & counseyle. Wherfore you muste come perely. And also he muste knowe, through your betrayeng, howe your prynce is mynded, and whether he be addycted to his contrary parte or not. If he be, than must you betraye his counsell, and that perely. And why? because the Pope is

In. vi. li. i. de
maioritate et
obediencia
Dilecti filii/
De iure iuris
do. ca. Ego in
vbi singulis

E.3.

on this

old custome.

on this syde the mountaynes. But and yf he be in Rome, and hath
all prynces neckes vnder his gyrdell, than is it sufficient that you
come euery thyrde yere. For you can at ones commynge, deuyse as
moche treason, as prynces shall auorde in fyue yeres. But what
belongerth this vnto a byshoppe? that the pope is on this syde the
mountaynes, or beyonde. yf ye be bounde by Gods lawe, yercely to
visite the pope, than must you visite hym, wher so euer he be, though
he were epyther with God, or the deuyl. And yf you be not bounde
by Gods lawe, what a presumption is it of hym to bynde you? ye
what an ouerspyght is it of you, to let your selfe thus to be bounde?
And what a wyshednes is it of you so straitely to kepe this orde? to
the whiche you are not bounde by scriptur, agaynst your obedience
made to your pryncer, whiche is comaunded by Gods worde? But
I pray you what example hath epyther he or you of blessed saynt Pe-
ter, to bynde by the vertue of an orde, the other apostles yercely to
bylite hym at Rome. All the worlde may perceyue, that this orde is
inuented of insatiabie conceytousnes, that the Pope and you haue
rowarde honours and dignities. And that is well declared by these
wordes, that foloweth in your orde. The possessionys of my church.
I shall not sell / gree / lay to morgage / or make any feoffment, or by any
other meanes alienate the same, without the counsell of the Pope.
But I pray you tell me one thyng, why do you not sweare, that you
shall neyther bye / nor yet receyue any possessionys to your church /
nor you shall neyther pyl, nor poull, nor waue / to encrease the pos-
sessionys of your church. But the truthe is, All is fyfwe that com-
meth to þe nerre with you. And yf it come ones within your clowkes,
it neuer cometh out agayne, though the kynge & his realme shulde
stande in neuer so great nede. But to receyue all his lande, you are
alwayes redye, and it is not agaynst your orde. I do not say thus,
bicause I wolde ye shulde selle, or alpyenate the possessionys of the
church, but bicause I se that ther is nothyng mayntayned by them,
but al lonely your myscheuous pompe and pryde. Your owne lawe
comaundet, that the fourthe parte of the spiritual goodes, shulde
be distributed amonge poore men. And for that cause they be called,
bona pauperum. But howe lyttell the 3rd parte is, all the worlde can
testifie. Wherfore do you sweare, not to alienate your goodes, with-
out the Popes lycence? The Pope gaue them not to you, but the
kyng, and his subiectes. Howe cometh he now to be so nere of
your counsell in alienating them? and the kyng is thurstie or, the
whiche hath deserved best to be of your counsell. But do you not
remembre your owne lawe? the whiche doth forbyd that the Pope
in any wyse, or for any necessitye, shulde alpyenate the goodes of the
church, excepte it be olde houses, whiche can not be kepte without
great charges.

1st. quest. 1st. c.
Quatu. et de
redimendis c.
Wos est.

1st. quest. 1st. c.
non licet
p. 2.

great charges. This is your owne lawe, and agaynst this wyll you
 were? Than muste you nedes be perjured, for yf you alienate your
 goodes with the popes licence, than is this decree agaynst you,
 and curseth you. Wherefore than put you this in your othe, seyng
 you can not alpenate your goodes with his consent, nor yet without?
 It foloweth in your newe othe, decrees / ordynaunces / sentences /
 disposicions / reseruacions / prouisyons / and comaundementes aposto-
 lyke, with all my power I wyll obserue, and shall cause other men
 to obserue them. These thynges were added, whan this ydole was
 broughte so hygh, that no man durste wyche agaynst hym. And
 whan he myghte saye, and do what he wolde. And as your lawe
 comaundeth, no man so hardy to aske hym why he dothe so. Than
 began decrees / ordynaunces / deposecyons / dysposecyons / reserua-
 cyons / prouisyons / with lyke shamefulness for to sprynge. And there
 is no remedy, but they muste contynue? And why? Bicause you are
 sware to kepe them your selfe, and to compell other men also to
 kepe them. And out of the keepynge of this parte of your othe, spryn-
 geth an other sentence that foloweth, whiche is this. All heretikes /
 schismatikes / and rebelles / towardes our sayde lord the pope, to
 my power I shall persecute and withholde. This is the clause that
 hath made vs poore men so great heretikes. For it can neder be p-
 ued, that euer we spake agaynst God, or our kynge, and yet be we
 heretikes. And why? Forsooth bycause the byshops are sware to
 the popes decrees, the whiche condemneth all them for heretikes,
 that speaketh agaynst his holynes, though he be as holy as my
 horse. For he saythe hym selfe in his lawe, that he neder not to be
 holy hym selfe, but it is suffycient, that he syteth in an holy seate.
 These be his wordes: Who doubteth but he is holy, the whiche is
 exalted to so great a dignitie? In whom though good workes of his
 owne merites be wantynge, yet are those good workes suffycient /
 the whiche were done by his predecessours. Upon the whiche terte
 they glose saythe, that yf it be openly knowen, that the pope be an
 aduolterer / or a murderer / yet oughte he not to be accused. &c.
 Nowe we poore men can not suffice suche myscheuous byces, where-
 fore we muste be heretikes. But why? Bicause my lordes the bys-
 hops are sware to psecute vs. But neuertheles, I truste to Gods
 grace, and the kynges, that my lordes the byshops, wyll not be so
 harde, in this poynte of theyr othe, as they haue ben. And why?
 Bicause men may nowe come to theyr answer. Shortly, there be
 many clauses in this last othe added, that be clere iniury vnto pry-
 ces, and agaynst Gods lawe, and manis lawe. And yet our byshops
 wyll swere them. Ye and that, whiche is worste of all, they wyll
 accuse other men of treason and rebellon, And there is no man
 sware

In. vi. tit. tit.
 ca. ad apost.
 in verbo con-
 tinetur.

Dist. ii. cap.
 nonnos.

Glosa in ysa
 bo quis.

The myters
penis of the
kings grace

sworne to treason, nor rebellion, but they onely.

Wherefore moste gracious pynce, with all nichenes and lowlynes
that is due to so noble a pynce, and also that bothe become a trewe
subiecte to do, I lowely and mekely requyre and desyre your grace,
to iudge betwene the byshops, and me / whiche of vs is trewest and
saythfullest to God, and to your grace. I speake all onely of those
byshops that hath, and also wolde now (yf they durste) defende
the Pope, and his lawes. Agaynst them I make this supplicacion,
and agaynst them haue I declared the lernynge and doctrine, that
I haue bothe taughte, and wyrtten. And as for my factes, & dedes,
what I haue done agaynst God, and your grace, I requyre them to
say thei vttermoste, that they can proue / or elles by your gracious
faueur, I am here presente, and offer my selfe to proue them lyars /
And that vnder any maner of payne, that your grace shall assigne.
And agaynst them I haue declared the lernynge and doctrine of thei
churche, and also brought examples of thei factes and dedes, with
the whiche they haue put thei doctrine in exercyse. Nowe yf they
be greued, or thynke them selues wrongefully handeled of me,
than I require no more of your grace, but indyfferently
and graciously, to hete bothe them and me / the
whiche thynge, no doubt, as your grace
dothe knowe, our heuently father
dothe require of you.

Who preserve your byghnes in all honour and dignite.

A M E N.





Moste gracious Prynce, that your grace shulde knowe, what cause of hereby that the bpsbops had agaynst me, for the whiche, they so uncharitably, and so cruelly hath cast me away. Therefore haue I set out the articles that were layde agaynst me, and as they were layde agaynst me, as I wyll be reported by their owne actes, and booke. The whiche articles doubles were uncharitably, and falsly gathered agaynst me, in a sermon that I made in Cambridge, in S. Edwardes An. w. 1529. church. Wherefore I wyll beseeche your grace, with all mekenes, and deuotion, to be my gracious lord, and prynce. And not to suffer me combys, thus shamefully, and cruelly, agaynst all lawe, and conscience, vnto to be vndone, and cast away. But of your most hygh goodnes to suffer me to come to myn answer, And than, yf I can not iustifie my cause, I wyll be at your gracious commaundment, to be punished after ryghte, and conscience.

If thou beleue, that thou arte more bounde to serue God to morrowe, whiche is Christmas day, or of Esterday, or of Whytson-day, for any holynes that is in one day more than in a nother, than art thou no saythfull chrisen man, but superstitious, And S. Paule is agaynst the, sayinge: you do obserue dayes, yeres, monthes, and tydes. For vnto a saythfull chrisen man, euery daye oughte to be Christmasday, Esterday, and Whytsonday. The whiche thyng the fathers consydering, that thou dyddest not obserue, yea, & that thou wouldest neuer obserue, yf it were lefte to thy iudgement, bicause thou arte gyuen so moche to worldly busynesses, for that cause they haue assigned the certayne dayes to come to the church, to pray together, to here the worde of God together, and to receyue the blessed sacrament together. What faute fynde you in this article? bicause I say, that one day is not holper than a nother? I praye you what is the cause? or what nature is in one day, that is not in a nother, whereby that it shulde be holper than the other? Bicause (you wyll say) that we halowe the remembraunce of Christis brythe, and of Christis resurrection in one day, and not in a nother. This thyng, I say, must you to euery day, for Christ is euery day borne, euery day rysen, euery day assended vppe. And this muste you beleue euery day stedfastly, This muste you sanctifie in your herres dayly, and not one day.

Nowe bary we but in this thyng. You say, that we are bounde to sanctifie, but one Christmasday in the yere, and that is superstitiousnes, and hereby, say I, not that I condemne your one day, but that you set it to one daye all onely, that we are bounde to do euery day. Whereby, my lord of Rochester allowed this article, saying: he wolde not condemne it for hereby, for an. C. li. (this was a greatte somme of money) but it was folglyshly sayde quod he) to preache this

f. i.

that were

The fynde

Sala. v.

why hol-
dayes were
orderned.

Let vs not
play the iues

That wolde
they not do
yf it were a
garnst Gods
comandment

Ad Gala. iij.

All dayes be
a lyke.

Epist. C. xij.

Ad neruo
Indico.

afore þ butchers of Lambryge, As who say, they were all butchers,
that were at the sermon: and not the moſte parte of the vniuerſite
But the byſſhop of Bathe asked me, whether we myghte labour on
the holy dayes or not, ſeynge it is wyrtten, Thou ſhalte obſerue thy
holy day. I answered, that chriſten men were not boſide to abyſtayne
from bodely labour by that comāndement, for it was ſo gūen to
the iewes. And yf we were bounde to abyſtayne from bodely labour
by that comāndement: than was the kynges grace, and all his
counſell, my lord Cardinall, and all his counſell, in the waye of
dampnacyon, For they cauſe men to carpe they; ſuffe on the holy
daye, what day ſoener it be, when they wyll remeue. At this reaſon
all my lordes were aſtonyed, and wyſte not what to ſape: they were
lothe to condemne my lord Cardinals grace, ſeyng he was ſo holy
a prelate of Chriſtes church, and that facte they coulde not denye.
Wherfore at the laſte, my lord of Rocheſter remembred hym ſelfe,
and obiected in this maner. A goodly reaſon, I wyll make you a
lyke reaſon, The byſſhop of Wyncheſter ſuffereth the ſlups, ergo, the
ſlups be lawfull. At this reaſon, I meruayled moche. For I per
cepued, þ it was as laſull for our noble pryncce to carpe ſuffe on the
holy daye (whiche is not agaynſte the worde of God) as it is for an
harlot of the ſlups to lyue in open whordome, whiche is agaynſt the
worde of God. And yet my lordes þ byſſops of they; great charite,
and of they; innumerable ſpirituall treaſure ſuffereth agaynſte they;
conſcience bothe to be done. Breuely it were to longe to recite all the
vnycharitable maner that they dyd vſe with me. And yet ernestly I
muſt be condemned poore man for an heretike. But I wyll recyte
the ſayngs of doctours for me, þ men may ſe how ſamfully I haue
erred. Saynt Hierome ſayth, Therefore be certeyne dayes aſſigned,
that we ſhulde come together, not that, þ day, in the whiche we come
together is holier than an other, but all dayes be lyke, and equall,
And Chriſte is not alonely crucified in paſſedē, & reſen onely on
the ſonday, but þ day of reſurreccion is alwayes, and alwayes may
we eate of our lordes fleſhe. &c. Here ſaynt Hierome ſayth the ſelfe
wordes, that I ſpake, And of theſe wordes was I moued to ſpeake,
as God to the knowe. Alſo ſ. Auguſtine ſayth, we muſt obſerue the
ſabboth day, not þ we ſhulde rechen our ſelfe not to labour, but that
all thyng þ we do worke wel, muſt haue an intencion to the euer
laſtyng reſt. Wherfore we muſt obſerue the holy day, not by corporal
ydlenes, and vnto the letter, but ſpirituallly muſt we reſt from vices,
and concupiſcences. Wherfore amonge all the ten comāndementes,
that of the ſabboth daye is alonely comānded to be figuratiuely
obſerued. &c. Alſo Tertulpan. The carnall circuciſion is put away,
and extincted at his tyme. So lyke wyſe the obſeruaciō of þ ſabboth
daye is

Day is declared to be so; a tyme, for we must kepe þe sabboth day, not alonely the seventh day, but at al tymes, as Elia sayth. sc. But here my lord of Rochester sayde, firste, that I vnderstode not Tertullian, secondarily, that he was an heretyke. But I passe ouer myne answer, for this is but a lordly worde, and he coulde none othertyse saue his honour, but yet standeth my scripture fast. And saynt Hierome, and saynt Augustyne, & also theyr owne lawe, whole wordes be these: It is come vnto me, that certayne men, whiche be of an euill spirite, haue sowed certayne euill thynges amonge you, and contrarie to the holy saythe, so that they do forbyd, that men shoulde worke on the sabboth day. The which men, what other thyng shall we call them, but the preachers of Antichrist, the whiche Antichrist shall make the sabboth day, and the sonday be kepte from all maner of worke. sc. This lawe clerely declareth you to be Antichristes, this is more than I sayde. I haue great meruaile, that the byshoppe of Bathe, bringe so myghty a lord in condempnyng of heretykes, was not lerned in this lawe, seinge it is his owne facultie.

We confesse,
dist. iii. capit.
peruenit.

De we dare no man preache the truthe, and the very Gospell of **The second**
God, and in especyall they that be feble, and fearefull. But I **artycke.**
trust, ye and I pray to God, that it may shortly come, that false and
manifest errors may be playnely shewed. There be certayne men
lyke conditioned to dogges, yf there be any man, that is not theyr con-
fession, or that they loue not, nor knowe not, say any thyng agaynst
them, than crye they, an heretyke, an heretyke, ad ignem, ad ignem.
These be the dogges, that sere true preachers. What heresye synde
you in this artycke? I do thynke þe you do fele my prayer to be herde.
For doubtles, there be many shamefull errors nowe manifestly
opened, that at those dayes had ben heresye to haue touched them.

We make nowe a dayes many martyrs, I trust we shall haue **The thyrde**
many moo shortly. For the verite coulde neuer be preached **artycke.**
playnely, but persecution byd folowe. Here byd my lord of Bathe
inquire of me, yf I reckened them for martyrs, that were burnt at
Bisshoppes, I answered, that I knewe not theyr cause, wherfore they
died, but I reckened as many men to be martyrs, as were persecuted,
and dyed for the worde of God, but he sayde, he wolde make me to
fye for this. Howe thynke you by this holy prelate? Was not this
a charitable argument to resell myn answer with? But this was
the strongest argument, that euer they vied. And pauenture I may
se the day, that this argument may be made agaynst them.

These lawes, these lawyers, these Justiciars, that say, that a **The fourth**
man may lawfully ake his owne good afore a iudge, and con- **artycke.**
tende in iudgement, haue destroyed all patience, deuotion, and sayth **God forgyn**
in christen people. On this article hangeth also the nexte. **the that say**
this to me.

I. 2.

¶ This

The f. febe
article.

This pleatynge in iudgement, is manifestly agaynst the gospel
Mat. 12. Homo quis me constituit iudicem. And contrary to s.
Paul. Nam omnino delictum est. &c. **W**hen aduersaries most
vncharitably larde these two articles agaynst me, as though I had
condempned the lawemaker, lawe, and execution thereof, when I
only spake agaynst the vncharitableness of some men, whiche rather
seke vengeance of theyr bretherne, than any ryghte or helpe of the
lawe. For I speake not agaynst all lawyers, or agaynst any for ple-
dyng iustly, after the forme of the lawe, But onely agaynst those,
whiche taughte men, that they were bounde to prosecute the vtter-
most of the lawe, vnder þ payne of deedly synne, were the man neuer
so poore, and vnlke to paye the dette. Agaynst these two persones
spake I, and agaynst none other. For it is not, nor neuer was myne
intent, to forbyd supynge at the lawe, for I do knowe very well, that
magistratus is of God. Ergo, it must nedes folowe, that all lawes,
hauynge pbable reasons of nature, made to conserue a comen welth,
must also be allowed of God, for lawes be a parte of the power, that
is instituted of God. Moreover, saynt Paule dothe appele to the
Emperour, whiche is also pars litis, And that he coulde not do, yf
supynge were simpliciter, forbydden. Also good lawes be gods gyfts.
Wherfore it muste nedes folowe, that we may lawfully vse them.
But as men may misuse connyng, & beautie, so may men also misuse
the excellent gyfte of the lawes, not that lawes be euill, but bicause
we vse them not to the intent, that they were ordeined for. No man
douteth, but in vsynge of all gods creatures, ther must be an epykha,
that is a meane, a measure, and an order, so that no man may thereby
destroy his neybour agaynst the order of charyte, whiche is a gyfte,
and a ruler in vsynge of all creatures, As for men to make a rumour
in a hole countrey, for a trylle, or els for a man to set on his neybour,
whiche is not able by no meanes to pay his dette, and so vtterly to
vndoe hym, and to take none ende with hym, but after the extremite
of the lawe. I say that this maner of setres do not becom churche
men, vbi transgreditur equitatis, et charitatis limites. And that all
men may clerely perceyue, that these onely was bothe my wordes,
and intent, I shall reherse the occasion, þ moued me to speake of the
lawyers, and sueters. The cause was this.

There was a poore man deed, and had made a nother poore man
his executour, and bequethed in his will to a churche in Canbyrge a
hertyll, worth. 4. s. iiij. d. the whiche hertyll was afterwarde requi-
red by the churche warden. But this executour beinge a poore man,
and not able to gyue this bequeste at that tyme, therfore he despyed
the churche warden of longer respire, but he coulde not be herde, for
the churche warden wolde haue the vttermoste of the lawe, & set on
hym before

hym before the Comptroler, and at the laste, condempned hym vnto
 pryson, where he lay, and nether was able to pay his dette, nor to
 helpe his wyfe, and chyldren. Nowe, bicause I myght do somthyng
 with the church wardens, therfore the poore mans wyfe came we-
 pyng, and waylyng to me, despyng me in the waye of charp-
 te to speake to the church warden, for to be good to her poore husb-
 ande, wherby I was moued to scude for this my frende, his name is called
 John Drake, a man wel knowne in Cambridge, vnto whom I spake
 in this maner. Contrayman, I am very sore to here of your vna-
 ritable demeanour, here hath ben with me a poore woman wepyng,
 and waylyng, and cryng out, howe you haue vndone her, her poore
 husb-
 ande, and her myserable chyldren, for all they haue not one bryte
 of bread, towarde thei-
 foode, nor he is not able to labour. Where-
 fore I meruayle sore at you, that you wyll be so extreme vnto poore
 men, whom God hath visited with pouerte, to proue your charp-
 te. What mercy wyll you haue at Christis hande? & which is so extreme
 vnto your poore neyghbour? Whom he hath bought with his pre-
 cious bloude. Vnto this he made me answere on this maner, Howe
 that thyng pertayned not to hym, but vnto the church, wherfore he
 sayd, & all doctours of lawe dyd say, & they must seue therfore, vnder
 the payne of deadly synne. And yf it were wronge, why did they lerne
 so? Nowe, I had many wordes with hym betwene hym, and me,
 as concernyng this matter. But the nexte day, whan I preached,
 by the reason that the selfe man stode afoze me in the church, was
 I brought to remembrance of the case, that he, and I had comoned
 of, And bicause I had not clerely conuerted hym, therfore I resped
 the case in a pable, that no man knewe what I ment, but he, and I.
 And of this synge was I moued (as God knoweth) to speake of
 lawyers, the which I thynke in this case, no chylden man can allowe.
 And therfore I saye in myne attycle, these lawyers. Nowe is there
 vnto the synne amonge you (sayth Paule) bicause you go to lawe one
 with a nother, why rather suffer you not wronge? why rather suffer
 ye not your selues to be robbed? Also our maister sayth, If any man
 wyll seue the at the lawe, and take thy coote from the, let hym haue
 thy clothe also. May not I saye these wordes? wherfore were they
 wyten by the holy goste? but that they wulde be lerned? Here our
 mayster Thome, and S. Paule speaketh agaynst lawyers, no man can
 denye it, the texte is so clere. Nowe, what synge can be vnlawfull?
 yf this be not vnlawfull, agaynst the whiche I dyd speake? Here is
 a poore man, wyfe, and chyldren destroyed, and no charitable wayes
 taken with the poore man, wherby he myght make restitution. And
 my lernyng sayth: That Diminutus summa iniuria est. Wherfore
 I wyll be iudged by all chylden men, yf I oughte not in this case to
 I-3. gge me

The next cos-
 sel of the doc-
 tors of law.

1. Cor. vi.

Math. v.

I do not con-
 demne synners
 but in a case.

The spiritus
alce forbyd
deth precten
to sue in cau-
sa sanguinis
et tamen non
dāpnat legis
Athanasius.

S. Hier. ad
Col. vi.

These do-
ctors wil not
nor can be-
stroy all iudi-
cialles / but
only ynchari-
table sentences.

Raymo ad
Col. vi.

Luce. vi.

If it be a con-
sell: than can
ye not con-
demne it for
heresie.

Aug. quest. l.
q. 124.

gryue my frende counsell, not for to sue. For whether I be worthy to
be condemned for an heretike, because I counsell my frende, a bro-
ther, rather to suffer wronge, than for to vndo an hole household, for
a noughtye lewde kettill. But let vs se, howe the holy doctours,
that hath wyrtten ouer these places of scripture, dothe expounde them.
Epistle, Athanasius, on this texte of saynt Paule, that I bynge:
There is vtterly synne amonge you, that is to say, It is to your con-
demnation, and to your ignomyne, that you do exercise iudicials
amonge you. Wherefore do you not rather suffer wronge? Also saynt
Hierome, It is synne vnto you, that you do agaynst the commaunde-
ment of Christ, that you haue iudgements amonge you, the whiche
oughte alwayes to kepe peace, yea, thoughte it were with the losse
of your tēporall goodes. Wherefore do you not rather suffer wronge?
Where as ye oughte by the commaundement of the gospell, and by the
example of the lord paciently to suffer, there do you the contrarpe,
not all onely not suffer, but you do wronge vnto them, that do no
wronge, &c. Marke howe saynt Hierome calleth it a precepte, and
a commaundement, and no counsell, And also calleth it synne, to do a-
gaynst this commaundement. The wise Raymo saith: It is offence
and synne in you, that you haue iudicials, for accusation engendreth
stryfe, stryfe engendreth discorde, discorde engendreth hatred. And lest
parauenture they wolde say, this is no synne, to require myn owne,
Wherefore saythe the apostle, Truly it is synne vnto you, for you do
agaynst the commaundement of the lord, the whiche saythe, He that
taketh away thy good, as he it not agayne. Wherefore do you not ra-
ther suffer losse? If ye myght fulfill the commaundement of the lord, &c.
Marke howe he calleth it the commaundement of God? & it is synne to
aske out owne with contencion? Nowe what haue I sayde in myn
Article, that holy scripture, and also holy doctours do not say?
But after this came a doctour of lawe (whom I knewe not) & sayde,
that theyr lawe had condemned this opinion, and declared those
scriptures to be but counsels. But I denyed that, and sayde, I knewe
no suche lawe. And sodenly doctour Steuyn, nowe byshoppe of
Winchester, shewed me theyr lawe, whose wordes be these: Illud
euangelij, si quis abstrulerit. &c. non est precipientis sed exhortantis.
Nowe let euery chursten man iudge, whether that thes wordes of
theyr lawe be of sufficient auctorite, to refell the holy wordes of scrip-
ture or no? For than came doctour Wolman, and he broughte this
texte. If thy brother do offende the, than tell the churche. What is
that (sayd he) tell the churche? to whom I answered, that this place
made not for his purpose, allegynge Saynte Augustine for me, for
it speaketh of the tymes, that shulde be repeneued by the congreg-
gation, and not of the correction of the tēporall order. It also

foloweth

foloweth, yf he here not the church, counte hym as an hethen, and as a publicane. This is the bittermoste payne, that our S^r. Christ assigneth there, the whiche is no payne of the temporall lawe. But at this answer, was he sore moued, and sayde: yf I dyd abyde by it, I shulde be brunte. This was a sherppe sentence, of so great a man as he is. Appelles was a toly wyse felowe, that sayde ons to a shomaker, Ne sutor ultra crepidam. But neuertheles let hym, and them burne as many as they can, yet it is playne, that I haue spoken neuer a worde, but the holy scripture, & holy doctours say the same, both in sentence, & in wordes. Wherefore I can not se howe they can condempne this article, for heresy, yea, & I dare say for them, that they reken it none heresy, nor they dyd not condempne me for this article.

They vnder-
stode myn an-
swere so well,
that they were
thā cōtens
with me.

I will neuer beleue, nor yet I can neuer beleue, that one man may be by the lawe of God a b^yshop of .iij. cities, yea, of an hole countrey, for it is contrary to saynt Paule, whiche sayth, I haue lefte the behynde, to set in euery cite a b^yshop. And yf you fynde in one place of scripture, that they be called Episcopi, you shall fynde in dyuers other places, that they be called presbiteri.

The fyrte
artycke.
Tatm. 2.

I was brought afore my lorde Cardinall in to his galary, & there he redde all myne articles, tyll he came to this, and there he stopped, and sayd, this touched hym, and therefore he asked me, if I thought it wronge, that one b^yshoppe shulde haue so many cities vnderneath hym, vnto whom I answered, that I coulde no further go, than S^r. Pauls sette, whiche set in euery cite a b^yshop. Than asked he me, yf I thought it nowe wryght (seinge the ordinance of the church) that one b^yshoppe shulde haue so many cities? I answered, that I knewe none ordinance of the church (as concernynge this thyng) but saynt Pauls sayinge onely. Neuertheles, I dyd se a contrary custome, and practise in the worlde, but I knowe not the originall thereof. Than sayde he, that in the apostles tyme, there were dyuers cities, some .viij. myle, some .vi. myle longe, and ouer them was there set but one b^yshop, and of theyr subbarbes also. So lye wyse now, a b^yshop hath but one cite to his cathedrall churche, and the countrey aboute is, as subbarbes vnto it. He thoughte this was farre fetched, but I durst not denye it, bicause it was of so great auctorite, and of so holy a father, & of so great a diuine. But this dare I say, that his holynes coulde neyther proue it by scripture, nor yet by any auctorite of w^ritours, nor yet by any practise of the apostles, & yet it must be true, bicause a pyller of the churche hath spoken it. But let se what the doctours say to myne artycke. Athanasius dothe declare this terte of the apostle, I haue lefte the behynde. &c. He wolde not cōmpt vnto one b^yshop a whole yde, but he dyd inioyne, that euery cite shulde haue his propre pastor, supposynge, that by this meanes they shulde

The Cardy-
nal & doctours
Barnes resor-
ned togethor

But therfore
was I an her-
etyke.

O fragments

If I sayed
liche a thing
I shulde be
an heretyke.

Athanasius

Chrysostome.

they shulde more diligently ouerse the people, & also that the labour shulde be more easy to bere. &c. Also Chrysostome on that same scree, he wolde not that a whole countrey shulde be permytted vnto one man, but he enforncd vnto euery man his cure / by that meanes he knewe, that the labour shulde be more easye, and the subiectes shulde be with more diligence gouerned, yf the teachers were not distracte with the gouernynge of many churches, but had cure, and charge of one churche onely. &c. We thynketh these be playne wordes, & able to moue a man to speake asmoche as I dyd. But graunt, that you may haue all these cities, yet can you make it none herebye. For my lord Cardinal graunted, that it was but agaynst hym, and agaynst you, whiche be no goddes. But I poore man muste be an heretike, there is no remedy, you wyll haue it so. And who is able to say nay? Not all scripture, nor yet God hym selfe.

The seventh article.

I can not be proued by scripture, & a man of the churche shulde haue so great temporall possessions. But they wyll say, yf they had not so great possessions, they coulde not kepe so many seruantes, so many dogges, so many hores, as. xl. or. l. and mayntayne so great pompe, and pryde, and lyue so deliciously. What herebye synde you in this? Is it herebye to speake agaynst your hores, and your houndes, and your abhomynable lyuynge? And doubtles, I dyd not say, but that you myghte haue possessions, all onely I spake agaynst the superfluousnes, and the abuse of them, for the whiche all the worlde wondereth on you. What myschefe is there in the worlde vsed, that is more cleerly, & openly knowen, than that you do abuse the goodes of the churche? And yet muste I be condemned for an heretike, for speakynge agaynst it. Alas, to you thynke, that God wyll suffre this violence, that you do vse agaynst poore men? I wyll stande in the daunger, and proue howe his Godly maiestie shall iudge this matter betwene you, and me. I dare truste hym with it.

The eighth article.

Sure I am, that they can not by the lawe of God, haue no jurisdiction seculer, and yet they challenge both powres, which yf they haue, why do they not put them both in vse? For they must say, as the ietwes sayde, we may kyll no man. This is the article, & dyd byte you, for you can not be content with the office of a byshop, but you wyll be also kynges. Howe that standeth with Gods lawe, and with your othe, I haue declared it to our noble prince. I doubt not, but he wyll put you to the tryall of it. Haue not you this many yeres condemned many a poore man, and than deliuered hym to the temporall power to be put to dethe, whiche knewe not bynge of his cause? And yf he wolde, that ye shulde put hym to dethe your selfe, than answered ye, howe you myghte kyll no man. So that they were alwayes your hangman.

Officers be
but byshope
hangemen /
god amede it

C. 107

They say they be the successors of Christe and of his apostles / **The ninth**
 but I can se them folowe none, but Judas. For they bere the **artyde.**
 purse, & haue all the money. And if they had not so great possessions,
 I am sure an. C. wolde speke agaynst them, wher now dare nor one,
 for losse of promotion. As for this artyde I wyll overcome you with
 the witnes of all the worlde, you may well condempne it for heresy,
 but it is as true as your pater noster. Judas solde our mayster but
 ones, and you sell hym as often as he cometh in your handes. But
 I wolde it were that ye coulde proue me a lyer, & that you folowed
 any of the Apostles sayng Judas onely. yea, I wolde þe were in
 certayne portes as good as Judas was. It had ben better for you
 that you had not medled agaynst me in these matters. For now I
 am compelled to speake many thynges, whiche I wolde for shame
 of the worlde neuer haue spoken. But now þe you wyll haue it so,
 take it to you, and make the best you can of it.

There is not the greatest pharyse in this churche, but I am **The tenth**
 sure I prycke hym with these wordes, and he knoweth that **artyde.**
 they be true, though he say the contrary, and that do I well knowe.
 This artyde dyd I speake bicause of wyttour Wydle, whiche on a
 tyme graunted in mayster wyttour Buttes house, that the byshops
 were cleere out of order. And therefore I say, that I knowe it.

These ordynary byshops, and prelates do folowe that false pro **The tenth**
 phet Balaam. For they wolde curse the people, but by the **artyde,**
 uppon of God they are compelled to blysse them, that is to say, to
 teache them to lyue well, though they them selfe lyue moste mysche-
 uously. And so the assis, whiche they ryde vpon, that is the comon
 people, haue they lyues in abhominacion. This is the haynous he-
 resy. For it speaketh agaynst the holy fathes, whiche be almost as
 holy as Balaams ass, that dyd ones speake the worde of God to a
 good purpose, And so do they neuer. But I graunt þe dyd offende
 in callinge you ordynary byshops, for I wolde haue called you in-
 ordinate butchers. And as for that þe I compare you to Balaam, it
 is your owne lawe. q. quest. vij. Secuti sunt. And. cap. Ros li. And **The .xij.**
 as for your lypunge all the worlde knoweth it, I coulde tell here **artyde.**
 many holy popites of byshops lypung, as hepyng of mens wyues,
 and daughters, but I wyll not, for I wolde be rehened vncharita-
 ble. But you may to them, breakynge not your holy chapeite.

They set by a ppholl to deceyue the people withall, whiche is **The .xij.**
 called Baal peor, or Baal phegor, & is interpreted gaspyng, **artyde.**
 as theyr lawes, and constitutions, the whiche gaspe and gape to
 mayntayn theyr worldly honour. They cause vs to sacrifice by sayre
 women, that is by theyr carnall affectiōs, and swete wordes, so that
 God of Israel is forgotten. And thus by theyr swete wordes, and
 benedictiōs

4 Pet. ii.

benediction they deceyue simple people. These be the false maysters that saynt Peter speketh of, These be the forstaines without water, for they geue no good doctrine to the people. Where is the heresie in this? because I compare your lawes to Babel? But loke whether the interpretation of þ word be to agree with þ nature of your lawes or not? What to all your lawes but mynyshe þ auctorite of prynces? and of all other lordes, and exalte youres onely? Call you not that a gaspyng ydol? Let this article stonde tyll you be able to pue it heresy.

The .xiii.
article.

Now they sell vs, they sell the people, they sell holy orders, they sell churche halowynge, there is no better marchandise in chepe syde. Wylte thou knowe what is the pryce of a churche halowynge? no lesse than .xl. shyllynges. They sell pardons, and remysyons of synnes as openly as a cowe, & an oxe is solde, for they neuer graunte them without money. The Suffragan of Ely dyd are of mayster John Burgolde .xl. s. & the offeryng, for halowynge of S. Edward in Labyge: ye & he wolde not to it so good chepe (as he) but because he had a goddoughter buried in the churche yerde. But this may be proued by examples pnowe. For bynge ye forth the one churche in all Englade, that you haue halowed without money, or without hope of money, and I wyl graunte my conclusioun false. And as for your pardons, all the worlde knoweth your handlyng. I dare say it is the best marchandise in the worlde, as you handle it. But was it not a meruaylous blyndnes, & a great presumption, so cruelly to handle me for these Articles? Was there no myddell to haue punished me for speakynge against you, but I must nedes be an heretyke? I dare say, there is not one amonge you so shameles, & dare come forth now at this day, & proue these articles heresy agaynst me. But doubtes as longe as I lyue, and am not restored to my name, & fame agayne, whiche you haue violently taken away from me, wyl I be vnto you a dewyll, and a pestylence. I require nothyng of you, but my good name, and fame, to the whiche I haue ryght, And to the whiche you ought of your charyte to restore me, though I neuer required you. I thynke you haue punished me sore ynough, so; speakynge of a loslyshe worde or twayne agaynst you.

The .xiiii.
article.

Wylte thou knowe what they benedictions is worthe? They had rather geue the ten benedictions, than one halfe peny. Is not this a sore heresy? you ryde thorow stretes, & townes, blessinge man, and stone, but you neuer geue halfe peny to man, nor chyld.

The .xv.
article.

Now is come a pardon, wherby they say þ they haue power to sende an blyssed soules to heuen. And yf they may so do, without any further respecte, than may they lyke wylle sende a nother to helles. For it foloweth in the texte, quodcumq; ligaueris, & is, what soeuer thou byndest. Is not this a sore heresy, to say that you may not rule

not rule this matter at your iudgement. But this is a maruelous texte, Quodcumq; ligaueris, for it synberth in helle, & loseth in heuen, and openeth mens purses, & cofers in erth, it deposeth princes, it irrebiteth landes, it loseth a man out of his coore: yee & often tymes it loseth a man from his wyfe, yee & the hoise out of the carre. And all is done by this terre, qdcumq; ligaueris. Is not this a maruelous texte, & hath so great power? I knowe not suche a nother in all the hole Bible.

It is abhomyable to here howe they preache, & teache, that they may absolue a pena & a culpa, whiche I am sure is impos-
sible, as they vnderstande it. Make of this what you can, and loke of your owne scholasticall doctours, The whiche lerneth boldly that the keys of the church hath none auctorite ouer synne, nor yet ouer eternall payne. But all only hath auctorite to chaunge euerlastyng payne vnto a temporall payne, And the temporall payne the Pope may chaunge, and take away at his pleasure. And amonge all temporall paynes, you reken purgatory the greatest. Ouer the whiche the Pope hath full power. This is your owne doctryne. Loke in Alexander de Hales, in Duns, and in Bonauenture, in the.iiij. booke of the sentence. Howe yf you wyll condempne me, than muste you by the condempne this your owne doctryne.

The .xviij.
artycke.

Alexander
Duns: Bona
uenture in
iiij. sent.

What is the cause that they forbyd vs & we shulde not discusse howe great theyr power is? but bicause that they wolde make all men foolles, and holde vs in ignoraunce? your owne scholmen say, that the Popes power is so great, that no man can, nor may discusse it. Also your lawe commaundeth, That no man so hardy, as to aske the Pope, Why he do you so? But put the case & this were a lye, yet is it farre from heresye. yet my lordes say, that I shall be an heresye, And why say I? Bicause we wyll haue it so, say they. yea and thou byst not so chierit, thou shalte be byrnt. Mary I thanke you heretofore my lordes, pro bona vestra informatione.

The .xviij.
artycke.

Wey haue a lawe moste abhomyable, and contrary to Gods lawe, and charyte, to excommunicate the people. iij. tymes in a yere, that is to say, those men that rayse the rente of an house, that must you vnderstande, yf it belonge not to the church. For yf it belonge vnto the church, thou mayst rayse it euery monthe ones, and no man shall curse the. Also they curse them that be not buryed in theyr parische church, & must be vnderstand, yf & they be ryche men, for yf they be poore, they may be buryed amonge the styers. The byshop of Bathe said, there was no suche maner to curse men. And all the world knoweth the contrary. Moreover I red these artycles in the booke of the generall councill, that belongeth to saynt Benettes church in Cambridge, & ther byd I marke it with myn owne hande, and yet the byshoppe was not ashamed to denye it. And why? Be-

The .xviij.
artycke.

The .xix.
article.

cause I muste be an heretyke, there is no remedye, the holy fathers hath so determyned it.

They haue myters with glystering peryous stones. They haue gloues for catchyng colde in the myddes of theyr ceremonies. They haue rynges, and ouches, and other ceremonies, so many that ther is in a maner nowe nothyng els in the churche, but all iewyshe maners. Wyl you make this heresy? bicause I speake agaynst your dampnable, & pompous myters? I thynke suche ornamentes were to be condempned euen amonge herthen men, I wyl not say amonge chrissten men. But this dare I say, that there was neuer no God amonge herthen men, that euer dellyted in suche ornamentes: And yet you wyl serue the God of heuen by them. And your pooze brother, whom Christe hath redemed with his pectious bloude dyeth in prison, and openly in the strette, and hagerth hym selfe for necessitye, and yet wyl not you bestowe on hym so moche as one of your pectious stones. Tell me of one bysshop & euer brake his myter to & helppage of a pooze man? Was ther neuer man in necessitye in Englade? but all the worlde may se what you be. These thyngs be sensible ynough.

The .xx.
article.

These myters I can not tell from whence they do come, except they take them from & iewes bysshops. And yf they take them from the iewes, than let them also take theyr sacrifices, and theyr oblacous from them, and offer calues, and lambes, as they dyd, and than haue we nothyng to do with them, for we be chrissten men, and no iewes. I pray you tell me where ye fynde out one pryche in holy scripture of your myters? Our mayster dyd institute bysshops, And saynt Paule setteth out what is theyr office, & also what is theyr ornament, & yet speaketh neuer a worde of your myters. But I dare boldely say, & if you be put to the tryall, you shalbe sayne to come to the olde lawe. But can I be an heretyke, yf I condempned clerely your myters, and sayd they were of the deuyl? whan you proue them to be of Christes institution, than wyl I be an heretyke. Is not that ynough? I pray you let me so longe be taken for a chrissten man. And yf you be not contente with this, truly than do ye me wronge.

The .xli.
article.
61. Reg.

These myters with .ii. hornes, I can not tell what they shalbe signifye, excepte it be the hornes of the false prophet, of whom it is spoken, with these hornes shalt thou blowe afore the al! Syria. And so dyd he moche theyr rynges, and all theyr ornamentes, and ecclesiasticall ceremonies. It wyl come to my sarynge, & you be bysshops of the olde lawe, for you haue nothyng to defend your rynges, your ornamentes, and your ceremonies, but very tyranny. wherfore to mayntaine these, depose you kynges, and prynces, interdire lands, and burne man, wyfe, and chyld. And whan you haue all done, you haue defended but a deuylslike token of pryde. The doctours, that wolde

holde fauour your proude tokens / and expounde them to the best /
 haue declared that the two hornes of your mysters dyd signyfy the
 newe, & the olde testament, that is, how you shuld be lerned in them
 bothe. Nowe I saue, that this exposition dyd not agre with that
 thyng (for no man can be lesse lerned in them than you be, I speake
 of a great meny.) wherfore me thoughte it was but a bayne exposi-
 tion, and therefore I copared them to the ii. hornes of the false yphet,
 bicause (as you knowe) this false prophet sayde vnto the kynge, that
 he shulde with these two hornes blowe afore hym al Syria. And yet
 he lye, for the kynge was the firste man that was slayne. So lyke-
 wyse you say vnto kynges, yf they folowe your counsell, and mayn-
 tayne your auctorite, and be ruled after you, Than shall they ouer-
 come all theyr enemyes: As synne, deathe, and hell, and yet (Saluo
 ordyne besto) you lye, for you haue no worde of God for you. wher-
 fore you must be false prophetes. Here haue I compared of a simi-
 lytude your mysters to the two hornes, and you to false prophetes.
 What yf this be false? What yf I can not proue it? yet can you make
 me none heretike, for thā must you make those men heretikes, that
 haue compared the tokens of your mysters to the newe, and the olde
 testaments, and you to the true apostles, for they haue made a grea-
 ter lye than I haue done, and they are neuer able to proue it. And as
 for me, I wyll proue my saying true (yf ye wyll stande to scripture) or
 els wyll I be taken for an heretike.

They haue baculus pastoralis to take shepe with / but it is not The .xiiij.
artycke.
 lyke a shepherdes hoke, for it is intricate and manyfolde cro-
 ked, & turneth alwayes in, so that it may be called a male / for it hath
 neither begynning nor endyng. And it is moze lyke to knocke wyne
 and wolues in the heed with, than to take shepe. They haue also
 pylers / and pollaxes / and other ceremonies, which no doubt, be but
 tryfles, and thynges of nought. I pray you what is þe cause that you
 call your staffe a shepherdes staffe? you helpe no man with it? you
 conforte no man? you lyfte vp no man with it? but you haue streken
 downe kynges, & kingdomes with it, and knocked in the heed dukes
 and erles with it. Call you this a shepherdes staffe? There is a space
 in the shepherdes staffe, for the foote to come out agayne, but your
 staffe turneth, and wyndeth alwayes inwarde, and neuer outward,
 signyfyinge that what soeuer be be that cometh within your daun-
 ger, þe shall neuer come out agayne. This exposition your dedes
 do declare, let them be examined, that you haue had to do with. And
 let vs se howe they haue escaped your shepherdes hoke. But these
 be the articles, for the which I must nedes be an heretike. Neuer-
 theles all the worlde may se howe waimfully, that I haue erred a-
 gaynst your helynnes in saying the truthe. Elye lord cardinal re-

coned with me in this article, all the other he passed over, sayinge
 this, & the sixte article. Here dyd he aske, if I thought it good and
 resonable, if he shulde lay downe his pylers and pollaxes, and coyne
 them? Here is the heresye that is so abhomyable. I made hym an-
 swere, that I thoughte it well done. Than sayde he, howe thinke
 you, were it better for me? (beinge in the honour and dignite that I
 am) to coyne my pylers, and pollaxes, and to geue the money to .v.
 or sixe beggers? than for to mayntayne the comen welthe by them
 as I do? Do you not rechen (quod he) the comen welthe better than
 fyue or sixe beggers? To this I did answer, that I rechened it moze
 to the honour of God, and to the saluacion of his soule, and also to
 the confort of his pooze bretherne, that they were coned, and geuen
 in almes. And as for the comen welthe dyd not hange of them, for
 as his grace knewe, the comen welthe was afore his grace, and must
 be when his grace is gone, and the pylers and pollaxes came with
 hym, and shulde also go away with hym. Not withstandinge if the
 comen welthe were in suche a condicion, that it had neede of them, tha
 myght his grace so longe vse them, or any other thing in theyr neede,
 so longe as the comen welthe needed them. Notwithstandinge I sayd/
 thus muche dyd I not say, in my sermon agaynst them, but all onely
 I dampned in my sermon the gorgious pompe and pryde of al exte-
 ryor or ornaments. Than he sayde, well, you say very well. But as
 well as it was sayde, I am sure that these wordes made me an here-
 tyke, for if these wordes had not ben therein, myne aduersaries durst
 neuer a shewed theyr faces agaynst me. But nowe they knowe well
 that I coulde neuer be indifferently heretike. For if I had got the victorie,
 than must all the byshoppes, and my lorde Cardinall, haue layd downe
 all theyr gorgious ornaments. For the which they had rather burne
 such heretiks, as I am, as all the worlde knoweth. But God is
 mighty, & of me hath he shewed his powert, for I dare say, they neuer
 intended thynge moze in theyr lyues, than they dyd to destrope me,
 and yet God of his mercy hath saued me, agaynst all theyr violence,
 vnto his Godly wysdome is the cause all onely knowne. The bys-
 shop of London that was than called Tunstall, after my departyng
 out of prysen, sayd vnto a substanciall man, that I was not deed (for
 I dare say his conscience dyd not rechen me suche an heretike, that
 I wolde haue kylled my selfe, as the voyce wente, but yet wolde he
 haue done it gladly of his charyte) but I was (sayde he) in Amster-
 dam, wher I had neuer ben in my lyfe (as God knoweth, nor yet in
 the cosstrey this ten yeres) and certayne men dyd there speake with
 me (sayde he) and he sayned certayne wordes, that they shulde say to
 me, and I to them, and added there vnto, that my lorde Cardinall
 wolde haue me agayne, or it shulde coste hym a great somme of mo-
 ney, howe

where he shew
 howe

my, howe moche I do not clerely remembre. I haue marvaile that
my lord is not ashamed, thus shamefully, and thus lordly to lye, all
though he myght do it by auctorite. And where my lord Cardynal,
and he wolde spende so moche money to haue me agayne. I haue
great meruell of it. What can they make of me? I am a symple poore
wretche, and worthe no mans money in the worlde (saung theys)
not the tenth peny, that they wyl geue for me. And to burne me, or
to destroye me, can not so greatly profyte them. For whā I am deed
the sonne, and the moone, the starres, and the element, water, and
fyre, ye and also stones, shall defende this cause agaynst them, rather
than the verite shulde perishe. But yf they be so charitable to to
good workes, & to spende theyr money so well, they haue prisoners,
and poore men ynowe in the lande, let them bestowe theyr money
of them. And as for me, I do promyse them here by this present wy-
tyng, and by that saythe that I owe to Christe Iesus, and by that
fidelite that I owe to my pryncce, that yf they wyl be bounde to our
noble pryncce, after the maner of his lawe, and after good conscience,
and ryght, that they shall do me no violence, nor wronge, but discusse
and dispute these articles, & all other that I haue wyrtten, after the
holy worde of God, and by Chyestes holy scripture with me. Than
wyl I (as sone as I may knowe it) present my selfe vnto our most
noble pryncce, there offeryng my selfe to his grace, that I wyl eyther
proue these thynges by Gods worde agaynst you all, or els I wyl
suffre at his graces pleasure. Whom the father of heuen euer pserue
in honour. Amen. And yf you refuse this condiction, than say that
you be neyther good, nor charitable. For I dare say you can despyre
no more of a churche man.

I am Roma
here what say
you to me?

The. xliij.
article.

Preestes to mumble, and roze out theyr byruges, and masses in
the churche, and churchepardes for theyr founders, curpous to
speke theyr wordes distinctly. But I ensue them, & theyr prayers shal
do them no good, but only acceptatio diuina. As for this article the
byschops dyd not make moche of, for they perceyued that it was ga-
thered without any sentence. For my saying was, That men shuld
make theyr prayers in suche a sayth, and with suche a deuotion, that
God myght accepte them, and not so ydely, and without all deu-
cion bable, and say theyr diriges, alonly of bondage, and of custome,
and not of deuotion. I broughte the sayinge of the Apostle for me,
whiche sayth: Let your petitions, and prayers appere before God.
And also he that asketh, let hym aske in saythe, nothyng doubtyng.

Phyl. iij.
Jaco. i.

There is no prayer acceptable to God, except it be fetchted from
the fyre of the aulter. This article was also gathered without
any sentece, for my aduersaries did not greatly care what they made
of suche articles as perceyued to lernynge, & edefieng. And therefore
they neuer

The. xliij.
article.

The articles
as euill as
they were
layde of myn
aduersaries.

John. 1. 11.

The. xiiij.
article.

they neuer erred so muche as they dyd in them. For in those articles that were agaynst the byshoppes, they dyd greatte diligence, and in a parte of them gathered they my very true sentences, and myne owne wordes, though in those thynges they lefte out vncharitably, those wordes that made for my declaracyon, and also for the probacyon of my sayeng. The whiche I haue also here lefte out, all onely addyng the articles as they layde them agaynst me, that all men may se the worst that they had agaynst me. For all men may thynke that they wyl neither lay the beste, nor yet the trueth agaynst me. But this article dyd I thus preache, That men shulde not in theyr petition, and prayers, put theyr good workes, nor theyr good dedes, and theyr merites: As o lord I do faste, I do pray, I am no thefe, I am in charite with all the worlde, and for them desyre God to be mercifull vnto them. But they shulde desyre the father of heuen to be mercifull vnto them, alonly for Christes merites. For they were the thynges wherby both we, and our prayers are accepted in the syght of the father. And to proue this I broughte certeyne scriptures. As this, what soeuer ye shall aske the father in my name, he shall grue it you. And also the fygure of the olde lawe, where there was no sacrifice done, but with that fyre that was taken from the aulter. Now dyd I say, that Christe is our aulter. But this myne aduersaries vnderstode not. But I meruell what this article doth amonge the other heretypicall articles? I thynke they do not rechen it herely? He dyd not pray for þe estates of holy church, neither made he his prayers in the begynnyng of his sermon, accordyng to the olde custome, but at the last ende, and for the true knowlege of all christen men, making no prayer to our lady, nor for the soules in purgatory, nor for grace expedient. yf the byshops had had any indifferency in them, or any charite, they wolde haue ben a shamed þe suche articles shulde haue ben brought afore them. What is this to þe purpose of herely, that I dyd not pray for the. iij. estates of holy church? And yet they graunte, that I prayde for all true christen men, & that men myght come to the true knowlege. Is not all the church contained in this? But they be vncharitable men without all consyderation, they be so blynded in theyr worldly honour. That I dyd not pray to our lady, nor for the soules in purgatory, what is that to herely? For than were the apostles heretikes, for they dyd not praye in theyr sermones to our lady, nor yet for the soules in purgatory. And as for prayenge for grate expedient, that is not the preacher bounde to do openly. But me thynketh by these articles, that God gaue me a great grace, that I durste so boldly reprove theyr abhominable luyng, nor fearynge the daunger that shulde come therof, but this I leue to other mens iugement. And I dare boldly say, þat I had spoken

spoken testifies almoche agaynst the auctorite of our noble pryncce,
and agaynst all his dukes, and lordes, and had taken al power, both
spirituall, & tempozall from them, and gyven it to our pble bysshops,
Then had I ben a sapibfull chrissten man, for I had defended the li-
berties of holy church. But God sende them his grace, and space to
so conuerte. Amen.

The hole dysputacion betwene the bysshops
and doctour Barnes.



NOwe moste honorable, and graciously pryncce, here
haue I shewed your grace tharticles, that myn ad-
uersaries vncharitably, hath layde agaynst me. In
the whiche though a great meny of my wordes, and
saynges were, yet neuertheles there was lefte oue
all those thyngs, that dyd make for my declaration,
and for pbacons of my wordes, And also for mol-
lityng, and temperatyng of those thynges, that seemed to be some-
what hardly spoken, agaynst þe bysshops. The whiche thynges were
so longe to resyte vnto your noble grace. But as God is my iudge,
and also my conscience, and all my wordes, and dedes, and all maner
of my lyuynge, and conuersacion, I dyd neuer entende, to speake a-
gaynst the bysshops, or els any other man, further than they lyuynge,
and conuersacion were agaynst the blessed worde of God, & the holy
doctrin of Chyistles church. For the truthe is, there was no great
clerke in the church of God this .CC.C. yeres, that wrote any
thyng, but he complayned vehemently agaynst the lyuynge of the
spiritualte. Let they booke be brought forth, to proue whether my
saynge be truthe or not. Alas is it not a pituous case, yea and also
agaynst all lawe and conscience, that I pooze man shalbe thus vio-
lently cast away, for speakynge agaynst these vyces, that ben dampned
by almyghty god? and by all his holy creatures? yea and the bysshops
them selues, and all the worlde muste graunte that they do lyue as
euill, yea rather worse, than I dyd speake? Oh lord God, where
is loue to vertue? where is the shamesfastnes þe chrissten men oughte
to haue? where is Justice? That I shal be thus shamesfully caste
away, for speakynge of that thyng, that euery chrissten man is bounde
to speake? They do so lyue, And I beinge a preacher of the vertue,
must be condempned, for speakynge agaynst it. But moste gracious
and myghty pryncce, God hard set your grace in þe same honour, and
beguter, that you by Gods ordinaunce, ought to defende those men,

D.I.

that are

that are oppressed wrongfully. Wherfore humbly, and meekly, and with all lowlynes, and reuerence, I beseeche your grace to impute vnto me gracious iustice, and let me be herde indifferently, wheruer that I can iustifie my cause, with learning or nor. If I can nor iustifie it, your grace is a minister of iustice, I wyll refuse no manner of payne that shall be due to my transgression. Wherfore once agayne, with all mekenes, and lowlynes, in the way of charite, & in Christs name, and for his swete blode sake, that he hath shed for your grace, & also by the vertue of your auctorite, that the heuently God hath bestowed vpon you, I do requyre, & desire of your grace audience, & iustice. And all myne parentes be your naturall subiectes borne, And a great meyny of vs hath dyed in your gracious quartell, & yet is there none of vs, but are eedy to do your grace & seruice, with our bodies, and bloude, that shall become trewe subiectes to do, to theyr noble pryncce. Wherfore theydelp, in my name, and in all our names (for all they are rebuked in me) with all mekenes and reuerence, beseeche your grace of gracious audience, and of sauourable iustice. This thinge I truste your grace wyll not denye me, For yet take any displeasure with me your poore subiecte, for thus requeringe. For I haue none other pryncce, nor lord to seke vnto here on erth, but vnto your grace only. For I can come to no charitable ende with myn aduersaries. Wherfore I am compelled by extreme violence, thus to complayne vnto your grace, for my name, & fame, and estimacion, and all thinges that may belonge to an honeste poore man in this world, is taken wrongfully from me hereby, And hath ben by the space of .xx. yeres, whiche is no smal tyme, compelled to lye in mysery, & obloquy. Wherfore most gracious pryncce, lamentably I cry, and cal vnto your grace, for gracious audience, & indifferent iustice. It were to longe a processe to trouble your grace with, to tell all the vcharitable handlinge, that the Cardynall, and the byshops appoynted by hym, dyd vse with me. But I wyll make vnto your grace, a shorte somme of it, as nere as I can call now to remembraunce.

1525. In the yere of our lord. 1525. the. 24. day of Decembre, dyd I make a sermonde, at the request of the parryshe, in saynt Edwardes church of Cambrige, out of the whiche sermonde dyd myn aduersaries gather these articles: whiche whan I answere, I offered my selfe to preache agayne s onday folowynge, And to declare my selfe, and my meanyng clerely. But doctour Kydley, & doctour Dreston, chaplens, & kynsmen to the byshop of London, founde the meanes, that the Tutechauncelour dyd inhibit me to preache. But I coulde neuer knowe any resonable cause why, but that alonely he sayde, it shoulde be for my pryce to holde my peace. And of this I was so content. Till at the last, that these foresayd doctours, with one mayster

Tryell

Tryell gathered in writing certeyne articles, and presented them to the vicechancelour, whiche sent for me, and asked me, what I sayde to those artycles. I answered, that they were none of myn. But certeyne wordes, and sentences there were in them, that I had spoken, but that was Ieste out, that shoulde make for my declaracion. Wherefore I sayde, they were none of myne, And þ I wolde be reported by the audience. To this he sayde, that I shoulde take heede what I denyed, for yf they broughte wytnes agaynst me, than muste I nedes dye. I answered, that the wytnes shoulde be false, for I neuer spake them. Then sayde he, I coulde not proue a negatyue. I answered, that I wolde proue the wytnes false, what soeuer he were. He sayd, whether they were true or false, I must suffer for it, yf wytnes come in agaynst me, for that was the lawe. I sayd, how þ was a pituous case. And by that lawe they myghte condemne our mayster Chyrl. He sayde, howe þ I shoulde remembre me what I dyd, for the mater was so daungerous, and so hapnous in the lawe, that I myghte haue no counsell. Then I answered, & sayd, well, let God helpe, whiche knoweth all thynges. This was in the vniuersite scholes, the doctes wutte fast, no man beinge within on my party, but I alone. But of my aduersaries partye, was there doctour Wydley, doctour Watson, doctour Preston, and a doctour of law, whose name I haue forgoten. There was also one mayster Cooke, & mayster Tryell, whiche was appoynted amonge them, to be the presenter of these artycles.

After the vicechancelour, whan he coulde haue no more of me, in communication betwene vs, he asked me, what I wolde do, I answered, he shoulde go his waye, and let hym do wone, and here theyr complaint, And I wolde make suche an answer, as God shoulde put in my mynde. He requyred me instantly, not to cast my selfe away. So he wente and let hym do wone, And I was called befoze hym. As sone as I came, Then stode forthe mayster Tryell, and presented a rolle, in the whiche were certeyne articles (as he sayd) gathered out of my sermone, of the whiche some of them, sayde he, were contentious, some were seditious, some were schlaundreous, and some were hereticall. Whan he had thus spoken, Then sayde I to hym, Good M^r. Tryell, wyl you presente any of these artycles as heresye? At this worde spake the vicechancelour to me, Good mayster doctour, let that passe. Wyl you be content to submyt your selfe? Then sayd I, wher soeuer I haue spoken agaynst Gods worde, or agaynst the exposition of holy wotours, I wyl be content to be reformed, and to submyt my selfe. But with this was not doctour Wydley, nor doctour Watson content, excepte I shoulde adde vnto it, yf I had offended the lawes of the church. But at that I stopped, and sayde, it was to large, for I knewe not, what they mente by the lawes of the church,

nor I was no doctour of lawe. Wherefore I iudged it sufficient for me,
 to be reported by Gods worde, & by the exposition of holy doctours.
 For that was my faculte. Than the Vicechancelour rehered, that
 it was sufficient for me. But we coulde not agree in a greatte space,
 in this thyng. Wherefore I sayde, I wolde agree to all maner of
 lawes, that were not agaynst Gods worde, nor saynt Augustin, nor
 saynt Hierome, nor yet agaynst none of the foure doctours. So dyd
 it rest 3 day, at this poynte, and no more was handeled. For in this
 tyme was the hoole body of the vniuersite gathered together, and
 knocked at the schole doores, and sayde, they wolde here the exam-
 nation, seeing the matter was manifest. And these fewe psons shuld
 not take auctorite on them onely to here, & to determyne suche causes.
 Than the Vicechancelour sente the bedyll to the doore, requyringe
 them to be contente. But they were the more moued, and knocked
 soer. So rose the Vicechancelour, & wente hym selfe to the doore,
 and gaue them as good, and as sayre wordes as he coulde. But the
 conclusion was, they wolde not departe, excepte they myghte here
 this matter iudged, & as they sayde, it apperteyned to lernynge. And
 they were the body of the vniuersite. So the Vicechancelour came
 backe agayne vnto vs all, and sayde, we must grue ouer this mater,
 for the vniuersite is in a romer, and so departed we asonder. Than
 within two or thre dayes after, was I called in to Clare hall, to the
 Vicechancelours chamber, where were also the forsayde doctours,
 gathered agaynst me. Ther dyd they entreate me with good wordes,
 for to be contente to be ordered after M. Vicechancelours counsell.
 I dyd requyre, that maister Vicechancelour wolde indifferently here
 me, and myne aduersaries together. And than yf I had sayde any
 thyng agaynst lernynge, I wolde be ordered at maister Vicechan-
 celours commaundement. Than sayde they, that it was done for my
 profyte, that maister Vicechancelour dyd not sytte in iudgement.
 For (as they sayde) they were all my frendes, & wolde be lothe that
 my mater shulde be herde in iudgement. For yf there came any wy-
 nes agaynst me (as they were sure there wolde) that were I but lost.
 I answered, what wytnes soeuer shulde come to proue those articles
 as they were sayde agaynst me, I wolde proue them false. For I had
 preached openly, and many lerned men were at my sermonde, and
 I doubted not, but they wolde testifie the truthe for bothe parties.
 But than answere was made me, & yf thre wytnesses came agaynst
 me, than wolde not thre & twenty helpe me, for that was the course
 of the lawe. Than saide I: This is a pituous case, that a man shal
 not be reported indifferently by his audience, seeing it was in the
 vniuersite. But by .ii. or .iii. false wytnesses. Wherefore I wolde a-
 vyde the daunger, and let myn aduersaries do there vitermost. yf I
 shall thus

Shall thus dye, I must be content (sayde I) I am no better than our
 mayster Christ. Than was there many wordes vsed, & many daun-
 gero^s wayes shewed me, to haue withdrawn me from this purpose,
 but I dyd stande faste in it. So they requyred me to go backe in to a
 chamb^{re}, & they comuned together secretly alone. And at laste sente
 vnto me the Vicechauncelour, whiche intreated me very soore, to be
 contente with they^r ordinaunce. For by his conscience he coulde not
 perceyue, but they were all my frendes, and intended to saue bothe
 my name & fame, whiche they coulde not do (the lawe was so daun-
 gerous) onles I wolde folowe they^r counsell. Than asked I of H^{is}.
 Vicechauncelour, what they wolde that I shulde do. For truly (sayd
 I) these articles were falsely, and vncharitably layde vnto me. He
 answered, that there shulde be no leoperdy in the matter, I shulde be
 contented to graunt them. But vnto that I wolde not agree in no
 wyse. wherfore I despyed hym to departe agayne vnto them, and I
 wolde come, & make them a resonable answer, So came I in, ma-
 kynge this prelation spyle. Right worshipfull maysters, I trust
 you be all my good frendes, and haue so moche charite in you, that
 you wyl not caste me awaye, onles you perceyue a great faute, and
 obstinacy in me, the whiche I truste you shall not fynde, for I dyd
 neuer intende, to speake, nor yet to do, agaynst Chyrlis holy doctrine.
 Notwithstandyng, seing that the lawe is so daungerous, as maister
 Vicechauncelour, & you haue tolde me, Therfore I had rather put
 my selfe vnto your charite, than to stande to the danger of the lawe.
 And for this purpose, to these articles that be layde vnto me, thus I
 answered. These artycles as they do here stande, were neuer myne,
 nor I neuer intended to speake them, as they be here wyrtten. But
 neuertheles I do graunte, that here be many of my wordes, & also
 a great meyny of my sentences, that I dyd speake. wherfore I do
 submyt my selfe vnto you, despyunge you charitably to deale with
 me, and not to take my wordes to the worst sentence. As I had sayd
 thus, & such^e lyke other wordes, Than made they me to be sworne,
 to stande to the Vicechauncelour determinacyon. At that I stopped
 a great whyle, but at the laste I graunted to abyde by his determi-
 nation, p^{ro}uise were not agaynst lernyng, & charite. And vpon this the
 Vicechauncelour assailed me, as they saide, ab excommunicatione iuris.
 As we had they there stadyng vnknoyn vnto me, a notary, which
 dyd make an instrument of all my agrementes. For I dyd not know,
 but that they handled with me as frendes, and as priuate persones.
 And this instrument made by the notary, was afterwarde presented
 vnto þe court, for wytnes agaynst me, when I was brought before
 the byshops. And as we were thus handlinge in the Vicechaun-
 cels chamb^{re}, the Audierce gathered together, so that the body

A preface

H. 3.

of the

of the Vniuersite was there, And than sente by certeyne maysters, and bachelours of diuinite to the Vicechauncelour, requering hym that they myghte be admytted to here the examination of me, in as moche as they had herbe me preache. Answer was made agayne, that there was no suche matter in hande, but that they dyd handle with me frendly, to deuise an ende most to my profite. By the reason of the whiche congregacion, we were compelled to departe asonder, as for that tyme, And so rested the matter still, the space of a moneth. In the whiche tyme, doctour Watson, and doctour Preston, at the agreement of the Vicechauncelour, wente and wrote a reuocation, and made it of euery artycle by it selfe, makynge me in the reuocation to graunt the articles, as they were layde agaynst me. Addynge also to euery artycle, & bicause some men had so vnderstande me, therfore I shuld reuoke the article. As in the fyrst article, where I had sayde, after the mynde of saynt Hierome, & all dayes were of lyke vertue. They added, that certayne men dyd take me, that I wolde haue no holy dayes. And therfore I muste reuoke that artycle, as herespe. Item, where I had spoken in myne articles agaynst the gorgious pompe, and pryde of spirituall ornamente. They dyd adde, that certayne men dyd take out of my sayinge, that I wolde haue no halowed chalyses, nor vestiments, nor yet any ornamentals in the church. And therfore I must reuoke that artycle, as herespe. And so in euery one of my articles, where they coulde expounde a worde to an euill sentence, or els of malice, make any myscheu^o, or sedicious sayinge, that layde they to me, & wolde haue me reuoke it, as though it had ben my sayinge, and meanyng. So that there was neuer an article, but that it was eyther heretypicall, sedicious, contencious, blasphemous, or elles, p^ris auribus offensiuus. Moreover, I had in that same place a good frende, the whiche wrote the same reuocation pryuely, as fast for me, as he dyd wyte it for doctour Preston. The whiche man is yet alive. Nowe whan I had this thyng in wytyng, I called in to my chaubre, an eyght, or tenne, of the best lerned men, that were in Cabyrge, the whiche be yet alive, as farre as I knowe, sayng mayster George Stafford, & mayster Wyndley. Of all these I asked theyr counsell, what they thoughte best to do, sayng this reuocation was so vncharitably made, & thynges falsely layde vnto my charge, whiche were not in my articles, nor yet coulde be charitably taken out of them. They all concluded, that it was neyther ryght, nor conscience, that I shulde agree to this reuocation. Wherefore afterwarde, whan the Vicechauncelour called me agayne afore doctour Wyndley, doctour Watson, doctour Preston, and mayster Wyll, and deliuered me this reuocation in his chambre, whiche I shuld rede openly the sonday folowynge in saynt Edwardes church, and shulde

and shulde saye neyther more nor lesse, than was therein wrytten. Ye
 and shulde also promyse, that yf I were afterwarde called forth by
 any hygher power spirituall, to be content, and suffre all payne, and
 punishment, that he or they shulde laye vnto me. Than wolde I
 not agree in no wyse to this determinaciō, nor consent to these condi-
 cions. For they were neyther agreeable to leaue, nor yet standing
 with charyte. There were certayne articles condemned for heresye,
 that were as true as saynt Iohns gospel. And charyte wolde not,
 that I shulde be blamed for that thyng, that I neyther spake, nor
 thought, but alonly malicious persones byd take out of my sayings
 false meanyngs. Wherefore here was a great tragidie amonge them.
 For some sayd, that I was perjured, by the reason I was sworne to
 abyde the determinaciō of the Vicechancelour. And the other pre-
 reckened, that my othe bounde me not, by the reason that it was so
 vncharitably made, the whiche was not theyr promyse to do: yf the
 Vicechancelour hym selfe, thoughte it to excheame. So that after
 many wordes, the congregaciō of them was dissolued, and I shuld
 make an answer within eynht dayes, what I wolde do. Nowe in
 the meane season, byd master Tyrell ryde to London, and founde
 the meanes (by the reason that he coulde not opteyne his mynde in
 the Vniuersite. For I sayde, that I wolde appele from h Vicechan-
 celour, to the whole body of the Vniuersite) that the Cardinall sent
 downe doctoure Capon, & a sergeant of armes, called Grylson, which
 byd arrest me in h Vniuersite, for to appere before your grace counsell.
 So was I brought vp to London, the Tuesday afore Whoure Son
 day, and on the weddyngday at night after, was I brought afore the
 Cardinall in his gallery at Westmynster, whiche toke and red all my
 articles quietly, tyll he came to the. vi. There he stopped, and asked
 me, yf a byshop myght haue any more cities than one. I answered,
 that a byshop was instituted, to instructe, and teache the Citie, And
 therefore he myght haue as moche vnderneath hym, as he were able
 to preache, and teache to. And to that me thought saynt Paule byd
 agree: commaundynge Timothe to set in euery citie a byshoppe.
 Wherefore I knewe none other order but this. Than sayde
 he: That in Paules dayes, a Citie was syxe or seuen myles longe,
 besyde the subbarbes. And of that whole Citie, was there but one
 byshop. So lyke wyse now, a byshop had but one Cathedraall see,
 and all the residue of the countrey, were as subbarbes vnto it. To
 this I sayde no thyng, for he wolde here me no more, but returned
 and red forth the articles, tyll that he came to the. xxi. article, where
 he founde his pyllers, and his pollaxes, And there he stopped, & had
 a great disputatiō with me of them, as I haue wrytten afore in my
 articles. So at the laste we came so farr, that I sayde, howe these
 articles

artydes were vnicaritably gathered out of my sermon. Than he sayde, you are defamed of heresye. I answered, and sayde: I truste there is no good man, that knoweth me, whiche wyl suspecte me. He sayde, do not you knowe that there is a rumour, howe that you be brought afore vs for heresy? I answered, that rumour is scattered by myne aduersaries of malice, and not of any occasion that I haue gyuen. He sayd, I beleue that to be true, but howe wyl you pouрге pour selfe. I answered, I wyl be bounde to bynge vnto your grace xx. honest men, and well lerned, of good name, and fame, that shall depose for me, howe that I am not worthy of this infamye. Than he sayde, can you bynge me. xl. or. x. doctours of diuinite, that wyl sweare for you, that you are neither gilty, nor yet worthy to be suspected? I answered, it was not possible to bynge so many doctours for me, seinge there were no more but .ij. at my sermon, and they belonged bothe to byshops. wherfore I supposed they wolde not testifie with me: But I wolde bynge as many honest men, as shuld be required, and they shulde be as well lerned, and better than I, for to testifie for me. But he sayde, that wolde not helpe, for they must be my peares, after the forme of the lawe. I sayd, it was impossible. Than sayde he, you must be burned. I answered, howe I trusted to haue more grace, and fauour at his hande. He sayde, he was sworn to mayntayne the lawes of the church, and therfore he must folowe the forme of the lawe. wherfore I shulde take deliberacion with my selfe, whether I wolde stande, to the course of the lawe, or elles submit my selfe to his grace. Nowe bicause I had ones submitted my selfe to the Vicechauncelour, and I was thereby circumvented. Therfore, I thought I wolde nowe not be so hasty in submitting my selfe: And therfore I answered, that I wolde submit my selfe to his grace, in any thyng that could be proued agaynst me, that I had spoken, contrary to lernyng. He sayd, that this was no submission. And I wolde graunte no more. So after moche communication, he concluded with me, and sayde, howe that I was but a foole, & could not perceiue, howe good he was vnto me. wherfore saynge that I wolde be reported by my dedes, therfore he had signed. xv. or. xvi. doctours (sayd he) the whiche shulde the nexte day here me. And so the nexte day, whiche was on the Thursday before Fastigam sonday, was I broughte in to the Chapterhouse of Westmynster, where sat the byshop of Bathe, as principall iudge, & the byshop of saynt Asse, the abbot of Westmynster, the abbot of Burgh, doctour Quarton, doctour Allen, doctour Stephen, than secretary, with many mo, which I knew not. Than sayd the byshop of Bathe: Syr you are defamed of heresye: but I denyed the same. He sayde, ye to se what a multitude of people here is gathered to here your examinacion, whiche must ryl

nothing
elles.

The manner
of the examy-
nacion at
Westminster.

muste tye of some fame? I sayde, that I knewe no cause of that ga-
 therynge, for I knewe neuer a man there, nor brought any man with
 me, saynge a chylde of. xiiij. yeres. Than sayde he, Dyd you neuer
 here of any man, that you were accused of heresy? Than sayde I,
 Wher may say they pleasures, I can not let them, but it is no matre
 to me, as long as I am faultles. Than sayde he, We do beleue that
 you are faultles, but yet you must pource your selfe, and declare your
 innocency. I answered, to that I was content, and wolde be repor-
 ted by all men that euer knewe me, or herde me. Well sayde he, that
 is well sayde. Nowe sayde he, be there certeyne artycles deliuered
 vnto vs, agaynst you, what saye you to them? My desyre was to
 knowe myne accusars. He sayd he, We procede after a nother forme
 of the lawe, wherfore, what say you to these artycles? I answered,
 that they were vcharitably gathered agaynst me, wherfore I dyd
 deliuer certeyne artycles in to the court, subscribed with myn owne
 hande. As sone as they had them, Than had they what they wolde,
 for I was nowe come in forther daunger, than I wyte of, for nowe
 muste I nedes pource my selfe after they request, or elles reuoke all
 thynges that they layde agaynst me, as though they had ben myne,
 or elles I muste nedes dye, after they lawe. The whiche thyng I
 than neyther knewe, nor suspected, And this hath ben the cause, that
 al maner of men, what soeuer they were that came afore them, were
 they neuer so good, nor so innocent, must nedes be heretikes, yf they
 were not good vnto them, the whiche they were seldome, as they
 nedes hath declared. But to come to our purpose they enquired of
 certeyne questions of me, nothyng perreptyng vnto myne artycles, as
 whether a man might swere or not? And whether my lord Cardinal
 were my ordinary iudge or not? With other lyke capcious interroga-
 ryons, at the laste they came to my synne artycle, and inquired of me,
 yf all dayes were alphe. I sayde, after the mynde of saynt Hierome,
 that all dayes were equal. Than asked they me, yf we shoulde kepe
 any holy dayes? I saide, yes. And in this matre we had a great dis-
 putacyon, tyll at the laste my lord of Rochester came. And he asked
 me yf this comaundement, Sabatum sanctifices, were a ceremoni-
 all, or a morall precepte? I answered, yf it was a ceremonypall, Alen-
 ging for me saynt Augustine. Than sayd he, that I was not learned.
 But alwayes when they had asked of me a questyon, and I had as-
 soyled it, so that they neyther wolde, nor coulde abiete any thyng
 agaynst me, than was I comaunded alwayes to stande a parte, And
 they layde they beddes together, tyll they had inuented another cap-
 cious question. Than was I called agayne, & myne answer given,
 I was comaunded backe agayne. Thus they continued with me. xij.
 dayes, in the whiche space they notary wrote a renouation of all my
 artycles,

articles, befoze the tyme that myne answer was herde. And on the thyrde day after none, about thre of þe clocke, was there a great longe rolle offered vnto me for to rede worde by worde as it ther stode, and comaundement was gauen me by the byshop of Bathe, that I shuld not speake one worde afoze the people, more or les, than was wyrtten in the rolle, for yf I byd, he wolde handle me well ynough. So I requyred spyle to se what was wyrtten in the rolle, or I wolde graunte vnto it. Answer was made, that yf I wolde rede it as it was wyrtten, well and good, yf not, I shulde stode to the scoperdie. So I desyred them to knowe, yf they had condemned any of my articles for heresye. They sayde, yea. I asked them whiche it was. They sayde they wolde not tell me more, than was wyrtten. I answered, Alas my lordes, the truthe is, þe to my iudgement I haue spoken nothing, but that standeth with saynt Augustine, with saynt Hierome, and with other doctours of holy churche. Wherfore yf it shall chaunce me thus to be condemned, and not to be taught wherin, I can not tell what I shulde preache in tyme to come. The byshop of Bathe answered, that I shulde take no care for that, for as for preachynge he wolde puryde for me. But I shulde alonly answer, yf I wolde rede this rolle, or not. I desyred that they wolde spyle poynte with theyr spynge (yf they wolde not speake it) whiche article they had condemned for heresye, And I wolde be bounde to proue it true by saynte Augustyn, or els by saynt Hierome, or I wolde be taken for an heretike. To this sayde the byshop of Bathe, that yf saynt Augustine, a saynt Hierome were here, they shulde stande to the determynacon of the churche. Vnto whom I sayde, that the churche had so determyned of saynte Augustyne, and saynt Hierome, that yf any other churche determyned agaynst them, I wolde suspecte it. Well sayth he, yf you wyll stande vnto them, do. We are contente, alonly tell vs whether you wyll rede this rolle or not. Then sayd I. My lordes, I beseeche you in the way of charite, and for Christes sake, dele charitably with me, and do me no wronge. For saynte Paule saythe, that you haue power gauen, to edifice, and not to destruction. Clep well, sayde the byshoppe of Bathe, ye nede not to feare. Here be to many wytnessis, that we shulde oppresse you wrongfully. But sayde he, tell vs whether you wyll rede this rolle or not? This is the thyrde tyme, and the laste. Than sayde I. I wyll not graunt to it, excepte I may spyle se it. Do as it shall please you. At this they latte all still, wone lokynge on the other. Than the byshop of Bathe comaunded me to departe asyde. So toke they theyr counsell togythers. And at the laste I was called agayne, and this was sayde to me. Syr ye shall haue a man, that shall rede it vnto you afoze. Well sayde I. I am contente. And so one of theyr notaries, a lay man, was assigned vnto me

to me, and we departed a lyttell asyde, and there he began to rede.
 The yere of our lord, suche a day of the moneth, was one doctour
 Barnes conuented before the byshops in Westmynster, for certeyne
 articles, whiche were gathered out of a sermonde, that he preached
 in Lambryge, of the whiche some of them be sleaundersous, some be
 erronpous, some be contencpous, some be sedicious, some be solpwe,
 and some be hereticall. Whan that he came to this worde hereticall.
 I asked hym, whiche of them were heretycall? He answered me a-
 gayne, ye haue harde what my lordes saythe. I can make you no an-
 swere. Alas sayde I, Shall I be thus condemned for an heretyke,
 and can not tell what is myne heresye? Than sayde he, it belongeth
 not to me, speake vnto them. Well sayde I. Rede no more. So
 wente I agayne before the byshops. And felle to wne on my knees,
 and desyred them for the bytter passyon of Christe, that they wolde
 shewe vnto me, whiche article they condemned for heresye, And than
 yf I wolde not be taughte, they shulde handle me after the forme of
 lawe. But to this the byshop of Bathe answered, and sayd, I shulde
 chose whether I wolde rede that rolle, or els be burned. The one of
 bothe I shulde do. Then sayde I, Iesus haue mercy on me, I wyll
 surely not rede it. And so I deliuered it to them agayne. Than the
 other doctours cryed vpon me, the one here, the other there, that I
 shulde remembre my selfe, and not to caste away my selfe after this
 maner. For to rede the rolle, sayde they, was but a small thinge,
 and I was neuer the worse man. And I shulde se that my lord Car-
 dinall shulde be good, & gracious vnto me, And they wolde all speke
 for me, so that I supposed in very dede, that they wold haue required
 no more of me, but for to haue redde the rolle afore the face of the
 worlde, that I shulde not seme to haue the victorie agaynst them all,
 whiche thinge I dyd not greatly regarde. But in very dede, and yf
 I had knowen, that there had ben so myscheuous popson, tyanny,
 and cruelnes, in them, as I founde afterwarde, I wolde neuer haue
 redde it, to haue dyed for it. But God byngeth all thynges to passe
 at his pleasure. Nowe vpon this opinion that I had in them, and
 by the reason of theyr good wordes, & petuous, that they spake vnto
 me. I graunted to rede the rolle. But than whan I wolde haue red
 it, the byshop of Bathe sayd, it was to late, so was there a great di-
 sputation betwene them, vpon y matter. Tyll that doctour Quar-
 ton sayde, my lord it is not to late, for it is all in one sessyon, and in
 the tyme of one iudgemēt. But the byshop of Bathe (our lord for-
 gve hym) sought all the meanes that he could, and vsed all maner
 of cruelnes to haue destroyed me. Neuertheles, at the last, he deliue-
 red me that rolle, for to rede. Than was all the people y Node ther,
 called to here me. For in the other thre dayes, was there no man

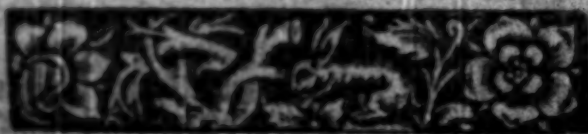
That was
the least.

Grace with-
out deseruing.

suffered to here one worde, that I spake. So after theyr commaundement that was gyuen me, I redde it, addyng nothyng to it, nor sayyng one worde, that myght make for myne excuse, supposyng that I wolde haue founde the byshops the better. After this, I was commaunded to subscribe it, and to make a crosse on it. Than was I commaunded to go knele towe before the byshop of Bathe, & to require absolution of hym, but he wolde not assople me, excepte I wolde swere, that I wolde fulfill the penaunce, that he wolde enioyne to me. So dyd I swere, not yet suspectyng, but that these men had had some crom of charite within them. But whan I had sworne, than enioyned he me, that I wolde retourne that myghte agayne to prisone. And the nexte day, whiche was fastyngame sonday, I wolde to open penaunce at Paules. And that the wolde wolde thynke that I was a merueylous haynous heretike, the Cardynall came the nexte day with all the pompe, and pryde, that he coulde make to Paules churche, and all to bypnyng me pooze soule out of consaite. And mozeouer were there commaunded to come all the byshops, that were at London, and all the abbottes dwellyng in London, that dyd were myters, in so moche that the pyor of saynt Mary spytell, and a nother monicke, whiche I thynke was of Towre hille, were there also in theyr myters. And to set the matter moze forth, and that the wolde wolde perspyrly knowe, and perceyue, that the spirituall fathers had determyned my matter substancially, The byshop of Rochester muste preache there that same day, and all his sermon was agaynst Lutherians, as though they had conuited me for one. The whiche of trouthe, & afoze God, was as farre from those thyngs as any man coulde be, sayyng that I was no tyaunt, nor no persecutour of Gods worde. And all this gorguous falsyng with myters, and crossestanes, abbottes, and pyors were done, but to bynde the people, & to outface me. God amende all thyng that is amysse. I had ben well cōtente to haue suffered all these thynges, so I myght haue comen to any charytable ende. But I muste retourne agayne after this to prisone, & there remayne, tyll my lord Cardinals further pleasure. The whiche pleasure, I dyd abyde fyrste, and laste, two yerres, and thre quarters, and yet coulde neuer be at any poynt with them. For I sente vnto the byshop of London that was than, certeyne worshipful men of the cite of London, whose names be these. **M**ayster Lambert, whiche hath ben mayre, **M**r. Raynolde, whiche hath ben sherpue, **M**r. Palmer, **M**r. Peter, **M**r. Jones, & **M**r. Wernell. And despyed these men in the waie of charite, to go to the byshop of London, and to desyre hym to be good, and gracious vnto me. And yf I had offended, I wolde be glad to make amendes, as moche as he wolde reasonably require of me. Despyng hym to speke them, what he

The Cardynall had put the matter to hym.

What he wolde of his charite require me to do, And they for to be
 bounde vnto hym, that I wolde kepe it. This they dyd. But what
 answere that they had of hym, they be men alpye for the most parte,
 they can tell. And amongst all other, mayster Peter sayde vnto the
 byshoppe, Alas my lord, it is a petuous case. If a man come in the
 danger of your lawe, there is no remedy to helpe hym out. Yes, sayde
 the byshop. What is that sayd mayster Peter? This is a ponge man,
 and hath good frendes, whiche wolde be ryghte lothe to haue hym
 cast away. Wherefore if there be any remedy, deuise you it. And we
 wyll be boide for hym. At this the byshop was astonied, and sayde
 at the last, that he wolde speake to my lord Cardinall for me. *God saue me*
 these men offered hym to go with hym, and to be bounde for me. *from suche*
 sayde, it shulde not ned. But neuertheles he spake so vnto them, or *spakynge.*
 they departed, & whan they came home, there was not one of them,
 that durst gyue me so moche bread, and meate, as he durst gyue his
 dogge, nor yet speake one worde to me. Immediately after this, the
 byshop founde the meanes, that I was sent to Northampton, there to
 remayne, as in a perpetuall prison. Thus mooste gracious pryncce
 haue they handeled me your poore Diatour. I beseeche your high-
 nes, to be good and gracious vnto me, & iudge, if this be charytable
 dealinge, thus to condempne me for an heretyke, and not to wete
 me the poppe wherfore. But euen with a violent tyrannye, to
 compell me to do, and confesse what they wyll, or elles to
 be put to dethe. And if there be any of them yet,
 that wyll come forthe, & proue any of these
 articles heresy, I wyll not refuse to
 suffre any payne, that your
 grace shall iudge me
 worthy.
 Thus our lord Jesus Christe preserve your
 noble grace euermore. Amen.





¶ We, yf your grace do not take vpon you, to here
the disputacion, and the probacion of this article
out of the grounde of holy scripture, my lordes the
bishops wyll condemne it, afore they rede it, as
they maner is to do with al thynges, that please
them not, and whiche they vnderstande not: and
than crye they, heresy, heresy, an heretike, an here-
tyke, he ought not to be herde, for his matters be condemned by the
churche, and by holy fathers, and by all longe customes, and by all
maner of lawes. Unto whom, with your graces sauoure, I make
this answer. I wolde knowe of them, yf all these thynges, that they
haue here rekened, can ouercome Christe, and his holy worde, or set
the holy ghoost to schole? And yf they can not, why wolde not I than
be herde? that do requyre it in the name of Christ? and also bying for
me his holy worde. And the holy fathers, whiche haue vnderstande
Gods worde as I do? Therefore thoughte they wyll not here me, yet
muste they nedes here them. In holy scripture, Christe is nothyng
elles, but a sauour, a redeemer, a iustifier, and a perfecte peace maker,
betwene God, and man. This testimonie dyd the aungell geue of
hym in these wordes, He shal saue his people from theyr synnes. And
also saynt Paule, Christe is made our ryghtwisnes, our satisfaction,
and our redemption. Moreover, the prophete wytnesseth the same,
sayinge, For the wretchednes of my people, haue I strepen hym. So
that here haue we Christe with his properties. Nowe, yf we wyll
truely cōfesse Christ, than must we graunt with our hertes, & Christ is
all our iustice, all our redemption, all our wysdome, all our holynes, all
alonly the purchaser of grace, alonly the peace maker betwene God
and man. Breuely all goodnes & we haue, that it is of hym, by hym,
and for his sake onely. And & we haue nede of nothyng towards our
saluacion, but of hym onely, and we desyre no nother saluacion, nor
no nother satisfaction, nor any helpe of any other creature, other he-
uently or earthly, but of hym onely, for as saynt Peter saythe, there is
no nother name giuen vnto men, wherein they muste be saued. And
also saynt Paule saythe, by hym are all that beleue iustified from all
thyngs. Moreover saynt Iohn wytnesseth & same, in these wordes,
He it is, that hath obtayned grace for our synnes. And in a nother
place. He sente his sonne to make agrement, for our synnes.
Nowe my lordes, here haue you Christe, and his very nature full,
and holle. And he & denyeth any thyng, or any parte of these thyngs,
or take any parte of them, and apply them, or geue the glory of them
to any other persone, than to Christe onely. the same man robberth
Christe of

Math. i.
i. Coun. i.
Esau. liij.

Actu. liij.

Actu. viij.
i. Iohn. ij.
i. Iohn. iij.

Christe of his honour, and denyeth Christe, and is very Antichriste. Wherefore my lordes, sayte what say you to this? and vnto the pper-
ties of Christe? If you graunte them, than are we at a poynte. For
they proue that saythe in Iesus Christe, onely iustifieth afore God.
Secodardly, if you denye it (as I am sure you wyll, for you had leuer
denye your Crede, than graunt it.) Howe can you than auoyde, but
that you be the very Antichristis? of whom saynt Iohn speaketh? 1. Iohn. iiii.
For now e haue we tryed your spirites, that they be not of God, for
you denye Christe. That is, you denye the very nature, and the pro-
prie of Christe. You graunt the name, but you denye the vertue.
You graunt, that he descended from heuen, but you denye the profyte
therof. For he descended for our helthe, this denye you, and yet it is
your Crede. You graunt that he was borne, but you denye the pur-
pose. You graunt, that he is risen from dethe, but you denye the pro-
fite therof. For he rose to iustifie vs. You graunt, that he is a sauour,
but you denye, that he is alonely the sauour. I pray you wherefore
was he borne? to iustifie vs in parte? to redeme vs in parte? to do
satisfaction for parte of our synnes? so that we muste set a payre of
olde shoes, a lompe of bread, and chese, or a louspe gray cote to make
satisfaccyon, for the other parte? Say what you wyll, if you gnye
not all, and fully, and alonely to one Christ, than deny you Christe,
and the holy ghost. And saynt Iohn both declare you to be contrary
to Christ. This may also be proued by a playne scripture of the holy
ghost, whiche is this. No man in heuen, nor in erthe, neyther vnder
the erthe, was able to open the boke, or to loke on the boke, tyll the
lambe came, vnto whom the senours spake, on this maner. Thou
arte worthy to take the boke, and to open the scales therof, for thou
wast kylled, and hast redemed vs by thy bloude. Apoc. v.
Howe say you to
this my lordes? In heuen was there none founde, neyther by the
aungels, nor yet by the senours worthy to open the boke, but Christ
alonely. And wyll you fynde, that they coude not fynde? wyll you set
an helper to Christe, whom they set alone? But I pray you tell vs
what he shall be. All the worlde knoweth, & they be good workes.
But now, from whence come your good workes? whether from he-
uen? or out of the erthe? or from vnder the erthe? if they were in
any of these places, where were they when the angelles, and the se-
nours soughte them? Haue you founde them? whom they coude
not fynde? but let this passe. I pray you, what wyll you lay for your
good workes? or by what tytle wyll you bynge them in, to ioyne
them with the lambe in openyng of the boke? The senours haue
lapde for them, that the lambe alonely was worthy to open the boke,
because he was slayne, and redemed them with his precyous bloude.
Howe what cause lay you for your good workes? The lambe hath
alonely

alonely dyed for vs? The lambe hath alonely shed his bloude for vs? The lambe hath alonely redeemed vs? These thynges hath he done alone? Howe yf these be sufficient? than hath he alone made satisfaccyon, and is alonely worthy to be our redeemer, and iustifier.

Moreover, they that be in heuen confesse, that this lambe is alonely worthy to redeeme them. Be your workes better than theys? or can your workes helpe them? yf they can? than is not the lambe alonely worthy to redeeme them. Moreover, the senyors fall downe before the lambe, gyring hym alonely prayse. And shall your good workes stande by by the lambe? Than be they better than the senyors. But let vs proue this thyng by open scriptures. Saynte Paule toke so great labours to proue this artycle, as he neuer toke in no nother, and all bicause he wolde make it playne, and stoppe the mowthes of the agayne sayers. But all this wyll not helpe them, that haue not the spiryte of God. Neuertheles, we wyll by Gods fauour, do the best we can to confounde the croked enemyes of Christes bloude, and thoughe we can not make them his frendes, yet at the lesse we wyll so handle them, & they shall be a shamed openly so to speake agaynst hym, as they haue done longe tyme, And so wyll we handle them (by Gods helpe) that all the worlde shall knowe, & they glory in Christs name, And by hym be they also so hygh promoted in this worlde, that they can not be hygher, And yet deserue they of Christe, worlde of all men. But let vs go to our purpose. Saynt Paule saythe, All men be synners, and wante the glory of God, but they are iustified

Roma.iii.

freely by his grace, thorothe the redemption that is in Christe Iesu. What is this that all men haue synned, ye and are iustified freely?

Howe shall a synner do good workes? Howe can he deserue to be iustified? what call you frely? yf there be any deservyng lesse or more, than is it not frely. What call you by his grace? yf it be any parte of workes, than it is not of grace. For as saynt Paule sayth, Than

Roma.ii.

grace were not grace. Here can be none euasion, the wordes be so playne. yf you bynge in any helpe of workes, than so; so moche is not our redemption freely, nor yet is it of grace, as concernyng the parte, that cometh of workes, but partly of workes, and than do you destroye all saynt Paule, and his holle disputation. For he contendeth agaynst workes, and clerely excludeth workes in iustification, and byngeth in grace only. Howe, that & is excluded in the wholle by contention, can not be brought in, in parte to the cause. This is open in his wordes, where he sayth. Where is nowe thy reioysyng? It is excluded. By what lawe? by the lawe of workes? Nay, but by the lawe of saythe. We do iudge therefore, that a man is iustified by saythe, without the workes of the lawe. Here you not, that the glorification of workes is excluded? and yet wyll you voste your workes?

Roma.iii.

Here

Were you not playnely saynt Pauls sentence, that iudgeth clearly
with saythe, and agaynst all workes? How can this be auoyded?
Is it not clere? What can be answer to it? Is not this Pauls pro-
position, that he toke to proue, saythe onely iustifieth? It were but
lost labour for Paule to proue that workes dyd helpe to iustificaciō,
for that the ieiwes dyd graunt, & requyred no more, but that workes
myght not be clerely excluded. They were chylrened, and content to
receyue Christ for theyr sauour, but not onely, and alonly. This was
the cōtention. In so moche & they gloryed agaynst the gētyls, which
had no maner of workes, & for & dispised them, as people vnworthy to
be iustified. But parauenture here wyl be sayd, & Paule condemneth
the workes of the olde lawe, but not the workes of the newe lawe.
Are you now satisfied in your cōscience? Thynke you, that you haue
well assayed saint Pauls argument? Thynke you, that this is suf-
ficient to auoyde saynt Paule, that hath taken so great labour to
proue this cause? Thynke you, that you shall be thus discharged a-
foze God? yf you do, than go boldly in to the strait iudgement of
God with this euasion, and doubt you not, but there shal you fynde
saynt Paule as styll, and as strongly agaynst you, and your newe
workes, as euer he was agaynst the ieiwes, and theyr olde workes,
And yf he dyd condemne the workes of the law, that were institute
by the mouth of God, and the best workes that euer were? Thynke
you that those workes that you haue inuēted, shalbe there alowed?
Brevely, what workes can you do, or excogitate (that be good) which
be not in the olde lawe? and of the olde lawe? Ergo he speaketh of
all maner of workes, for the lawe includeth al workes that euer god
instituted. The hyghest, and the beste, and moſte of pectiō of all
workes be, Opera decalogi, the workes of the .x. cōmaundementes.
And these be workes of the olde lawe, and can not iustify, after your
owne sayinge. Howe, what workes haue you of the newe lawe,
other than these? or better than these? Our master Christ sheweth,
that in fulfillyng. ij. of these cōmaundementes, be all workes included.
What workes than be of the newe lawe, that were not cōmaunded
in the olde? Parauenture you wyl say, All those workes that Christ
speaketh of in the .v. of Math. be of the newe lawe, and not of the
olde. For Christ sayth, I say vnto you: He that calleth his brother
foole, or he that loketh on a woman to desyre her, and such lyke,
dothe offende. These seme to be workes of Christ, & not of Moyses.
Ergo, there be workes of the newe lawe, & were not cōmaunded in
the olde, And agaynst them disputeth not S. Paule, say ye. To this
I answer, that our master Christ doth there repene the false inter-
pretacion, that the scribes, and pharises dyd set to the lawe, but he
teacheth no newe workes, nor is no grēt of any newe lawe. For

John. 1. saynt Iohn sayth, The lawe is gauen through Moyses, But grace and verite came by Iesus Christ. He is the gauer of grace, & mercy, as all the prophetes testifyeth, and not a nother Moyses. And therefore to purchase vs sauour, he dyed on the crosse, And so did not Moyses, But he commaundeth vs to do this, & do that. But Christe sayth, hange thou on my doyng, and beleue thou, that I haue done for the, for the, and not for me. Nowe to our purpose, Christe I say dothe interpretate, and declare the olde lawe agaynst the scribes, and pharises, whiche lerned, that the lawe was fulfilled, and content with ourwarde workes, and that was thei iustification. This false doctrine doth our mayster Christ reprove, And saith, that the lawe to require a pure, and a clene herte, and wyl haue his workes fulfilled out of the herte, and not alonly with hande, and fete, and tothe, and nayle, as the pharisees sayth, & teacheth. So that our mayster Christ teacheth no newe workes, but alonly expresseth the vertue of the olde lawe. And thus dothe holy witors declare this. v. chapter of Mark, and specially saynt Augustine. Wherefore out of that place can not be proued, that there be certeyne workes of the newe lawe, that were neuer commaunded in the olde. Moreover loke in the olde lawe whether these thyngs be forbydden, or commaunded, And you shall fynde that the wordes of the law, and Christes expolycion tothe agree. So that our mayster teacheth no newe thyng, nor yet any newe workes. But nowe graunte, that there be certayne workes of the newe lawe, whiche be not of the olde: yet haue you not, nor can not proue, that those shall iustifie? For there can be no more goodnes in workes, than were in workes of the olde lawe, for they were to gods honour, & to the profyte of our neyghbour. What goodnes can workes haue more? And yet you graunte, that they can not iustifie. Howe than shall your newe workes iustifie? Blessed saynt Paule disputeth agaynst them that were christened, and had bothe warkes of the olde lawe, and also of the newe, And yet concludeth he, that Christe alonly was thei iustifier. Marke his argument, yf eynghewyng cometh of the lawe, than is Christe deed in vayne: As he wolde say, yf the lawe helpe to iustifie (for that was the oppinion of the iewes) than is not Christe alonly your iustifier. yf he be not your iustifier alonly, than is he deed in vayne. Howe wyl saynte Paule proue this conuequent? On this maner, Eynher Christe dothe this thyng alone, or elles he is deed in vayne, for he wyl haue no helper. This muste nedes be the meanyng of his argument there. Nowe wyl I take this argument of saynt Paule, and lyke wyse dispute agaynst your newe warkes. yf newe warkes to helpe to iustifie, thā is Christ deed in vayne. But Christ is not deed in vayne. Ergo newe workes do not helpe to iustifie. The first parte is Pauls, The seconde you graunte.

Aug. in ser.
de monte
Exo. xx. et
leuii. xix.

Gala. ii.

graunt. Therefore the thirde must nedes folowe. But let vs se howe
saynt Paule proueth this propoſicion by an example, not of the olde
lawe, as though he diſputed alonely agaynst the workes of the olde
lawe. But by that holy and excellent patriarche Abraham, whom no
maner of workes coulde iustifie, but sayth onely. Thinke you that
saynt Paule dothe speke here of the workes of the olde lawe? maye
doubtes. For howe coulde Abraham do the workes of the lawe, and
there was no lawe giuen. *CCC. lxx. peres* after? wherefore saynt
Paule constrayneth you to conclude, & no maner of good workes,
(though they be so good as Abrahams workes) can helpe to iustifi-
cation. Note also saynt Pauls argument. Abraham was iustified
so many peres before the lawe was giuen. Ergo (sayth he) the lawe
doth not iustifie. So lyke wyse dispute I agaynst your newe workes:
When were sufficiently, and perfectly iustified alonely by saythe, afore
any newe workes were giuen, or preached. Ergo, the workes of the
newe lawe dothe not iustifie of necessitye. The antecedent I proue
thus. Abraham, Isaac Jacob, and Iohn Baptist & all the holy pphetes
were principally iustified, afore any newe workes (as you take new workes)
were spoken of. Ergo, men were sufficiently iustified, alonely by sayth.
If saynt Pauls argument conclude, so muste myne also. wherefore
say what you can, where standeth holy saynt Paule styll, & strongly
for me, and agaynst you, and saythe: That we be frely, and alonely
iustified by sayth, without all maner of workes. But let vs se what
saynt Ambrose sayth to this texte. They are iustified freely, for they
doynge nothing, nor nothing deservynge, alonely by sayth are iustifi-
fied by the gyfte of God. &c. Here you note, that men workynge no-
thing at all, nor nothing deservynge, are iustified by saythe onely?
ye and freely? you were wonte to crie, for sola, sola, sola, only, only,
only. Where haue you hym, And to helpe hym, you haue also gratis,
that is to saye, freely, and also dono dei, that is to saye, the gyfte of
of God, and nihil operantes, that is as moche as workynge nothing
at all. If these wordes do not exclude workes, and alowe sayth onely,
I can not tell what wordes wyll do it? graunt these wordes, and I
wyll be content. I wyll also bynne you Dugme on this same texte,
whose wordes be these Paule saythe, that the iustification of sayth
is alonely sufficient. So that if a man do beleue, onely he is iustified,
though there be no workes done of hym at all. By saythe was the
these iustified, without the workes of the lawe. For our lord dyd
not as he hym what he had done? nor dyd not loke for any workes
of hym? but dyd accepte hym all onely, for confessynge of Christe?
Sequitur. wherefore a man is iustified by sayth, vnto whom, as con-
cernynge iustification, the workes of the lawe, helpe nothing. &c. What
say you to Dugme? that saythe holde men be iustified, though they

Rom. iiii.

Sala. iij.

Ambro. ad
Rom. iij.

Dug. ad Rom.
ii. ij. cap. iij.

do no good workes at all, for workes do helpe nothinge to iustification, but faythe onely? Be not these playne wordes? Graunt these wordes, & we wyl aske no more of you. Here haue you also, Sola, sola, sola, So that you neede not cry no more for Sola. Also Dugine byngeth an open example of the these, that no man can deny. Who can haue lesse good workes, than a these? Whiche is neyther good before God, nor man. So that all the worlde may se, that this is no newe opinion, seynge that the scripture, and also holy wotours to the
 Rom. ix. seeke it. Also S. Paule in the ix. chap. byngeth in the gentyll, whiche knoweth nothinge of god, nor hath done no good workes. But contrary, blasphemed God, & his name, & hath alwayes lyued in Idolatry, and ben an vtter enemy vnto all goodnes. He byngeth in also the iewe full of good workes of the lawe, whiche hath also great zeale vnto God, and to his workes, yea & of that Paule beareth hym witnes. Breuely, he byngeth in for hym suche a Iewe, that no man can complayne of, but is full of good workes, yea take all the best of
 Rom. x. the Jewes together, (for it were madnes of Paule to speake of the dampnable Jewes, that were open wretches, and dampned by the iudgement of the lawe) With all they good workes, and yet saynt Paule to the exclude them, and repelleth them clerely from iustification, with all they good zeale, and with all they good workes, and concludeth with playne wordes, that the gentyll, whiche is full of dampnable workes, and hat a eyther zeale, nor loue vnto goodnes, is
 Rom. ix. iustified by faythe onely. These be saynt Pauls wordes. We say, that the Gentils, whiche folowed not ryghtwysnes, haue obtayned ryghtwysnes, I meane the ryghtwysenes, whiche cometh of faythe. But Israell, whiche folowed the lawe of ryghtwysnes, coulde not attayne vnto ryghtwysnes. Wherefore? Bicause he soughte it not by fayth, but as it were, by the workes of the lawe. Be not these playne wordes? That the Gentiles, whiche folowed no rightwysnes, nor had no mynde therunto, are iustified freely by faythe? Is not here Sola fides, only faythe? Moreover, the Iewe is reproued with all his zeale, with all his loue, with all his studie, and with all his good workes. Is not this a merueylous thyng? Yes verely. And so marueylous, that shall neuer vnderstande it, without you beleue. But peradventure here shall be sayde, that the good workes of the Jewes dyd not profyte them, bicause they had no faythe. But if they had had faythe, than wolde they haue holpen to they iustification. To this I make answer. Trowthe it is, good workes dyd not profyte the Jewes, for lacke of faythe. But this is false, That workes shoulde haue holpen to iustification, yf they had had faythe. For saynt Paule proueth clerely that good workes helpe nothinge to iustification, nor euyl workes let not the iustification, & cometh by faythe. And this

And this he proueth by the example of the Centyll, whiche had no good workes, but all dampnable workes, & yet is iustified by saythe. Arguer, the Jewes had the zeale of God, & all manner of good workes with all thyng & the worlde can deuise, yea & also S. Paule speketh of the Jewes & were christened, & all this coulde not helpe. Wherefore no manner of workes, whether they be in sayth, or out of sayth, can helpe to iustifie. Neuertheles, workes hath they gloire, & reward. But the gloire, and prayse of iustification, belongeth to Christ onely. Also saynt Paule proueth playnely in these wordes, & workes haue Rom. xij. no place in iustification: To hym that worketh, is the reward not giuen of fauour, but of duetie. To hym that worketh not, but beleueth on hym, that iustifieth the wycked man, is saythe counted for rightwysenes. Howe thynke you by these wordes? Be they not openly agaynst all workes? Saythe he not, that iustification is imputed vnto hym that worketh not, but a onely beleueth in hym, that iustifieth the wycked man? I praye you what good workes dothe the wycked man? Marke also howe he saythe, that rightwysenes is imputed vnto hym. Ergo, it is not deserued. For that & is deserued, is not imputed of fauour, but it must be giuen of duetie. Howe thynke you? Is not this sola fides, only saythe? you knowe & there be but workes, and sayth that to iustifie? And saynt Paule excludeth workes cleerly. Ergo, saythe alone remaineth. But perchaunce you wyl saye, that workes with saythe do iustifie. Neuertheles of mekenes, and lowlynes, and auoyding of all booke of goodnes, you wyl giue all the gloire to saythe, as vnto the principall thyng, and without the whiche, no worke can helpe. Notwithstandyng workes be good, and helpe to iustification, though of mekenes you wyl not knowe it. Is not this dampnable hypocrysy? yea & that with God whiche were intollerable, yf it were with men. But howe can you proue by scripture, that workes are worthy of any gloire of iustification? Is not this open lyenge on saythe to giue all to hym, and yet (as you say) he is not worthy of all? for workes be worthy of parte. If saythe be not worthy alone, confesse it openly, and giue workes his prayse, and saythe her prayse, and say not one thyng with your mouth, and thynke an other in your herte. For God seeketh the privacyes of hertes. Who hath required of you suche a mekenes? But I pray you how can workes helpe to iustification lesse or moze? Whan they be neither done, nor yet thought of? Who is iustified, but a wycked man? Whiche thynketh nothyng of good workes. But these mecheles, deserue none answer. Wherefore let vs here what holy doctours saye, on this terte. To hym that worketh not, &c. Saynt Ambrose saythe, on this maner: It was so decreed of God, Ambros. that after the lawe, the grace of God shulde requite vnto saluacion,

alonely saythe. whiche thyng he proueth by the example of the prophet, sayinge: Blessed is that man, to whom God doth impute iustification, without workes. He sayth, that they be blessed, of whom God hath determyned without labour, without all maner of obseruation, alonely by saythe, that they shall be iustified before God.

Blessed are they, whose sinnes be forgiven. Clerely they are blessed, vnto whom without labour, or without any worke, theyr iniquities be remitted, and theyr synnes be couered, and no maner of workes required of them, but alonely that they shulde beleue. &c.

Be not these wordes playne? God hath decreed, that he shall requyre nothyng to iustification, but sayth? And he is blessed, to whom God imputeth iustification, without all maner workes? Without all maner of obseruacions? Also theyr synnes be couered, and no maner of workes of penance required of them, but alonely to beleue. Wre have you sola fides, and tantu fides, and here can you not say, that saynt Ambrose speaketh alonely of workes of the laboe, but of al maner of workes, of all maner of obseruacions, y^e and also of penance.

D. witherall

Peraduenture it wyl be sayde, as a great doctour sayde ons to me, that saynt Ambrose byd vnderstande it of yonge chylderne, that were newly baptised, them their sayth shuld saue alonely without workes.

Howe thynke you? is not this a lykely answer for a great doctour of diuinite? for a great duns man? for so great a preacher? Are not saynt Paule, and saynt Ambrose well auoyded? and clerely? But I made hym this answer, y^e this epistle was wyrtten of saynt Paule to the Romans, whiche were men, and not chylderne, And also the wordes of scripture, speake of the man, and not of the chyld. And saynt Ambrose saythe, blessed is that man. But at this answer, he was not a lytle moued, and sware, by the blessed god, let Ambrose, and Augustin, say what they wyl, he wolde neuer beleue, but that workes byd helpe to iustification. This was a lordely worde of a prelate, and of a pyller of Churche, churche, But what medlynge is with suche madde men. But yet peraduenture you wyl say, holwe that I take a pere of the doctour, as moche as maketh for my purpose. Notwithstanding he sayth otherwyse in a norther place, which I do not bynge, what is that to me? yet is not my doctour thus auoyded. For you can not deny, but this is his sayeng, and vpon this place of scripture, and this doth agre with scripture, or elles he dothe expounde scripture euill. wherfore you muste answer to the sayeng of the doctour in this place, for this is the place that is layde agaynst you, and this is the place, wherby other places muste be expounded. And yf you dare deny hym in this place, than wyl I deny hym in all oyer places, by that same autorite: th^e be the holy doctours clerely gone.

gone. Nevertheless, holy scripture standeth openly agaynst you, whiche yf you denye, than haue I a cause to suspecte you. Wherefore take heere what you wyl. But yet pausture wyl ye say, & I vnderstande not saynt Ambrose, nor holy doctours, as my lord of Rochestre sayde how I vnderstode not Tertulian, he had none other euasion to saue his honour with. But this is not pnowge, so to say, but you muste proue it, and other men muste iudge it, betwene you and me. Here haue I translated a great meyny of theyr sayengs in to englyshe, let other men iudge, whether I vnderstande them or not. So ye to the latyn, & let vs se what other sence you can take out. But my lordes remembre, & our God is aloue, whose cause we defende, afoze whom, I dare well say, you are alrede confounded in your conscience, wherefore doubt ye not, but that terrible vengeance hangeth ouer you, yf you repente not, whiche whan it cometh, cometh warpely. How are ye able to defende a thyng, that you can not proue openly by holy scripture? Say what you wyl, your conscience wyl murmure, and grudge, and wyl neuer be satisfied with mens dremes, nor yet with tyrannye. Thynke you that your lawes, and your inuencions can be a sufficient rule for christen men to lyue by? and to saue theyr conscience thereby? Thynke you, that your cause is sufficiently proued, whan you haue compelled poore men by violence to graunt it? Than may we destroye all scriptures, and receyue alonely your tyrannye. But my lordes this matter is not ryghted by your iudgement, but by our maister Christes, & his blessed worde: afoze whose strypte iudgement you shall be iudged, and & stryptely. For whan all your grace, all your honour, all your dignite, all your pompe, and pryde, breuely all that your hertes do noth reioyce in, shall lye in the dust, than shall you be called to a strypte rekenyng: It is no lyght game, nor no chyldes playe. Marke it well, for it lyeth in your necke. But what needeth me to lose many wordes, for yf you be halfe so full of grace, as you say you be of good workes, than wyl you rechen it better than I can moue you. But agayne to our purpose. Saynte Paule proueth the iustificacyon of faythe onely, in these wordes. No man is iustified by the workes of the lawe, but by the fayth of Iesus Christ, and we do beleue in Iesus Christe, that we may be iustified, by the faythe of Christe, and not by the workes of the lawe? Marke how he saythe, that no man is iustified by the workes of the lawe, no not saynte Peter? Howe thynke you? dothe not saynte Paule exclude workes? and byngeth in alonely fayth? yea and that the workes of the lawe, whiche were the best workes in the worlde, and he beleueth to be iustified onely by the faythe of Iesus Christe, and not by workes, And that proueth he in these wordes of the prophet: A ryghteous man lyueth by faythe. Here you not? howe a ryghteous

Sala. 11.

Abacah. 2.

Athanasius
Sala.iii.

Aug. in plo
Psal. xxi.

Good work
without faith
are but synne

Barnab. sup
Can. ser. lxxij

ryghtwysse man lyueth by faythe? What call you lyuynge by faythe? If he lyue any parte by workes, than lyueth he not by faythe, but partly by workes. Than is saynt Pauls probation vnderfayte. But let vs se howe your doctours do expounde this terte. Nowe dothe he playnely shewe, that faythe alonely hath the vertue in hym to iustifie, and byngeth Abacuk sayenge: Of fayth (and not of the lawe) Shall a ryghtwysse man lyue. He addeth, well afore God, for afore man perauenture they shalbe reckened ryghtwysse, that lyke to the lawe, but not afore God. &c. Here haue you Sola, onely. And also that this holy iustification is afore God, and after his iudgement, and not after mens iudgements. Wherfore glorie as moche as you can, of your good workes. They can not alonely iustifie you, But also they be of no valure, but dampnable, and very synne, if there be no faythe. So farre are they from helpynge to iustification. This doth saynt Augustyne wytnes in these wordes. Those same workes that be done afore faythe, though they seme vnto men laudable, yet are they but bayne, And I do iudge them, as great strength, and as swifte runnyng out of the waye. Wherfore let no man counte his good workes before faythe, where as faythe is not, there is no good worke, the intencion maketh a good worke, but faythe dothe gyde the intencion. &c. Here saynt Augustyn condemneth all your good workes afore faythe, and faythe, that they be nothyng worthe, but bayne, and thynge out of the way. Howe can suche thynge helpe to iustification? Marke also howe that your good intencion (where vpon you boost, that you do so many good workes by) can not helpe you, for he is blinde, & knoweth not what to do (though he stande well in his owne conceyte) without faythe, whiche is his gyde. So that all thynge afore faythe, are but very byndnes. But as sone as faythe cometh, he doth both iustifie, & also maketh the workes good, whiche were afore synne. But let vs se what saynt Barnarde saythe of good workes. I do abhorre (sayth he) what soeuer thyng is of me, Excepte peradventure, that that be myne, that God hath made me his. By grace hath he iustified me freely, and by that hath he deliuered me from the bondage of synne. Thou hast not chosen me, (saythe Christe) but I haue chosen the, nor I founde no merites in the, & myght moue me to chole the, but I preuented all thy merites. Wherfore thus by fayth haue I maried the vnto me, and not by the workes of the lawe. I haue maried the also in iustice, but not in the iustice of the lawe, but in & iustice, whiche is of fayth. Nowe this remaineth, & thou do iudge a ryghte iudgement betwene the, and me. Spue thou iudgement, wherein that I haue maried the, where it is open, that thy merites dyd not come betwene, but my pleasure, and wyll. &c. Saynt Barnarde dothe despise all his good workes, and taketh

and taketh hym onely to grace, but you sayke partly to your good
 workes, & not onely to grace. Had saynt Barnarde no good workes
 to sayke to? Marke ¶. S. Barnarde is Gods chyld freely by grace,
 whiche can not be, yf workes do helpe lesse or more. Was he not a ^{work of the}
 chustened man? Had he no workes of ^{newe lawe,} newe law, as you call them?
 I thynke yes. And yet he sayth, that there was no merites, nor any
 goodnes, but that we were frely chosen. wherfore he proueth you,
 and all suche as you be, to iudge ryghtwysely betwene God, & you,
 the whiche hath preuented all your goodnes, and that of his owne
 wyll, and of his owne pleasure. Howe can he fynde any any good-
 nes, that preuenteth all goodnes? So that here haue you cleerlye,
 that good workes of the lawe, or moral good workes (as you sayne)
 do nothing helpe to iustification afore God, for they be preuented of
 iustification. This is also well proued by S. Angustines sayinge, ^{Arg. de Poir.}
 wherfore these thynges considered, and declared after the strengthe, ^{et lit. ca. xij.}
 that it hath pleased God to gyue vs, we do gather, that a man can
 not be iustified, by the preceptes of good lypynge, that is, not by the
 laboure of workes, but by the laboure of saythe, not by the letter, but by
 the spirite, not by the merites of workes, but by free grace. &c. Were
 you this? Not by merites of workes, but by free grace? What call you
 free grace? but without all thynges, sauynge grace. What call you
 not of workes, but that workes helpe nothinge. For yf workes dyd
 helpe, than wolde he not say, not of workes, but not of workes only,
 but parte of workes, and parte of saythe, but he excludeth workes
 fully, and onely. Agayne the same thyng, that purchaseth vs remp-
 sion of our synnes, dothe also purchase iustification, for iustification
 is nothinge, but rempssion of synnes. Nowe saythe purchaseth vs
 rempssion, Ergo, by saythe we are iustified. Nowe that sayth doth
 purchase rempssion of synnes, it is well proued by this article of our
 sayth, Ecce remissionem peccatorum, I beleue remission of synnes.
Nowe yf I haue not this remission for sayth, than saythe deceueth
me, for I do beleue onely, because I wolde haue remission of synnes.
What nedeth me to beleue remission of synnes, yf I may deserue it
by workes? Also our mayster Chyulle declareth openly, & no maner
 of workes, what so euer they be, can iustifie afore God. These be his
 wordes: whan you haue done all thynges, that he comaunded you, ^{Luce. xvj.}
 yet saye, that we are vnprofitable seruautes, If you be vnprofitable,
 than be you not iustified. And yf you can not be iustified, whan you
 haue done all thynges, howe wyll you be iustified, whan you do in
 a maner nothinge? and specially of thole thynges, that he comaun-
 ded you. wherfore this is playne, that our workes can not helpe vs
 to iustification. For whan we haue done all thynges, yet we are vn-
 profitable. But let vs proue this by an open example. I put this
 case my

case my lordes (vnto you I speake) that our most noble prince wolde
 call you all afore hym, & say, My lordes, so it is, that it hath pleased
 vs to call you vnto the spirituall dignitie of byshops, and to make
 you of our counsell, and lordes of our realme, and also of our parlia-
 ment. Nowe wolde we knowe of you, whiche of you all hath de-
 serued it, or rekeneth hym selfe worthy by his deseruing, lesse or more
 of this dignite? What wyll you say to this? What wyll you answer
 to the kynges grace? Is there one amonge you all, that dare be so
 bolde, as to say to the kynges grace, that he hath not gyuen it vnto
 hym freely, but that he hath done the kyng so faythfull seruice, that
 he was bounde to geue it vnto hym? yea, and that of his deseruinge?
 If there were one, that were so proude, as to saye this, thynke you
 that the kynges grace wolde not lay to his charge, how that he had
 not done halfe his duettie, but were rather bounde, to to ten tymes as
 moche more, and yet the kynges grace were not bounde to geue hym
 a byshopricke, for he had done but his duettie, and not all that.
 Nowe if your good workes, and all your faythfull seruice, be not
 able to deserue a byshopricke, of the kynges grace, how wyll you be
 able by your workes, to deserue heuen, & iustification afore the kynges
 of all kynges? When you haue answered to this, afore the kynges
 grace, than come, a dispute with God, the iustification of your wor-
 kes, and yet shall they be farre vniyke. Wherefore I conclude of these
 scriptures, and of these wotours, that the saythe, that we haue in
 Christe Iesus, and in his blessed bloud, to the onely, and sufficiently
 iustifie vs afore God, without the helpe of any workes.
 And though that all scripture be nothyng els, but a holle probacion
 of this article (that is alonely a persyre comendacion, and a prayse
 of Christ, and of his blessed merites, that he hath deserued for vs) yet
 wyll I passe quer to bynne in any mo places. For they that are not
 content with these scriptures, wyll not be satisfied, nor yet consente
 to geue alonely glory to God, though he broughte in all the newe
 testament, yea Christe hym selfe coulde not satisfie them, if he were
 here, no nor yet though heuen, and erthe, and all creatures therein,
 were nothyng els, but probacions of this article, it wolde not helpe.
 Wherefore I let suche infidels passe, and leue them to the iudgement
 of God, alonely certifieng them of this one thyng, that is infallyble,
 how the day shall come, that it shall repent them, yea, and that soer
 than I can eyther wyre, or thynke, that they dyd not beleue the lesse
 prycke of this holy article. But vnto our purpose. The very trewe
 way of iustification is this. First cometh God, for the loue of Christe
 Iesus, alonely of his mere mercye, and geueth vs freely the grasse
 of saythe, whereby we do beleue God, and his holy worde, and archie
 into the promyses of God, and beleue, that though heuen and
 erthe,

The manner
 of iustificaciō

of the, and all that is in them shoulde perre the, and come to nought, yet
 God shall be found true in his promyses; for this saythe sake, be we
 the electe children of God. This is not suche a sayth, as men crome,
 when they beleue, that there is one God, and beleue, that he is eter-
 nall, beleue also, that he made & wolde of noughte, yea, and beleue,
 that the gospell is true, and all thyng that God speaketh muste be
 true, and fully lye, with other suche thynges. This I say, is not the
 sayth, that we be iustified by, for deuyls, and infidels haue this sayth,
 and also we may attayne to thele thyngs, by strength of reason, But
 the saythe, that shall iustifie vs, must be of an other maner strength,
 for it must come from heuen, and not from the strength of reason. It
 must also make me beleue, that God the maker of heuen, and eerthe,
 is not alonely a father, but also my father; yea, & that thowowe the
 fauour, that Christ hath purchased me, from & which fauour neyther
 heuen, nor eerthe, tribulacion, nor persecucion, deathe, nor hell, can be-
 wrde me. But to this saythe I saie, that he is not alonely my father,
 but, also a mercifull father, yea & that vnto me mercifull, and so mer-
 cyfull, that he will not impute my synnes vnto me, though they be
 neuer so great, so longe as I hange on the blessed bloude of Christe
 Iesus, and synne not of malice, but of frailte, and of no pleasure.
 He is also a lyberrall father, yea, & that vnto me lyberrall, which will
 not alonely promyse me all thynges, but also geue them me, wherher
 they be necessary to the body, or to the soule. He is also not alonely
 lyberrall, but myghty to performe all thynges, that he promyseth vnto
 me. Breuely, this saythe maketh me to hange cleerly of God, and of
 his blessed promyses made in Christe, and in his lorde, and precious
 bloude, and not to fere deathe, nor none attricion, nor psecutions, nor
 tribulacion, but to despise all thele thynges, and not alonely thele,
 but to despise also myne owne lyfe, for Christis sake. Finally, of a
 fleshely beast, it maketh me a spirituall man, of a damnable chyld,
 it maketh me a heuonly sonne, of a seruant of the deuyll, it maketh
 me a free man of Gods, bothe deliuered from the lawe, from synne,
 from deathe, from the deuyll, and from all mylery, that myghte hurte
 me. My lordes, this is & sayth, that both iustifie, and & we do preache
 And bicaule it is geuen fro heuen in to our hertes by & spirite of god,
 therfore it can be no ydle thyng, But it muste nedes to all maner of
 thyngs, that be to the honour of God, and also to the profite of our
 neybour. In so moche, & at all tymes necessary, it muste nedes worke
 well, and also byrge forth all good workes, that may be to the p-
 fect, and helpe of any man. But these workes be not done, to
 iustifie the man, but a iuste man muste nedes do them, Not vnto his
 profite, but alonely to other mens profites, euen as our Lord Christe,
 suffered dunget, and thursh, and persecution, and toke great labours

fides iustifi-
 catio.

fides iustifi-
 catio.

Rom. viii

The fruites
 of saythe.

An example
howe faythe
bryngeth forth
good workes

Math. vii.

Solucione of
argumente to
the scriptur.

Rom. vi.

in preaching of his worde, yea & also suffered death. All these thynges, I say, dyd he not to further, or to profite hym selfe, but for our merites, and for our prayse. So lyke wyse doth a iuste man his workes. And as a good tre in tyme of the yere, byngyth forth the good apples, not to make hym good, for he is good afore, nor yet this apple is not to his profite, but vnto other mens, notwithstanding the good nature, that is in hym muste nedes bynge it forth. So lyke wyse the iuste man muste nedes to good workes, not by them to be iustified, but alonly in them to serue his brother: for he hath no neede of them, as concernynge his iustification. Wherefore nowe here haue you the very trewe cause of iustification, that is faythe alonly. And also the very trewe wyse, and maner of bynge good workes. And how that no man can do good workes, but a iustified man, as our Ld. Christe saythe, Either make the tree good, and than his frute must be good, or els the tree euill, & his frute also euill, for a good tree muste nedes bynge forth the good frute, And a badde, euill frute. But nowe let me answere to the scriptures, and to the reasons, & they bynge to proue that workes do iustifie. First cometh the fleshely, and dampnable reason, and she sayth, yf we be iustified alonly by faythe, what neede we to do any good workes? what neede we to crucifie, or to mortifie our fleshe? for all these wyll not profite vs, and we shall be saued thowge we do none of them all. Thus dyd blynde reason dispute with S. Paule, whan that he had proued, that God of his mercy, had deliuered vs freely from the dampnable bondage of the lawe. Anone he iudged, & he might do what he wolde, for he was no longer vnder the lawe. To this saynt Paule answereth, That yf we obeye vnto the workes of synne, than are we the seruantes of synne, and yf we obeye to the workes of iustice, than are we the seruantes of iustice. So that yf we truly haue that same faythe, that iustifieth vs, we shall desyre to do none other workes but those, that belonge to iustification, not that the workes do iustifie, but that we must nedes do these workes, as the very true frutes of iustification, and not as the cause of iustification. And therefore those men, & wyll do no good workes, bicause they be iustified onely by faythe, be not the chyldren of God, nor the chyldren of iustification. For the luyfinge spirite of God is none auctour of pines, nor of syn, but he crieth in our hartes, Abba pater. And of that, is this a sure, and an euident token, for yf they were the very true chyldren of God, they wolde be the gladder to do good workes, bicause that they are iustified freely. Therefore shulde they also be moued freely to workes, yf it were for no nother purpose, nor profite, but alonly to do the wyll of theyr mercifull God, that hath so freely iustified them, & also to profite theyr neyghbour, whom they are bounde to serue of very trewe charite.

Take

Take an example, here is a thefe, that is condemned by ryght, and by lawe to be hanged, whom the kynges grace of his mercy, dothe frely deliuer from the gallous, and giveth hym his pardon. Nowe this thefe, thus deliuered, wyl not kepe hym selfe a trewe man, nor do those workes, that belong to a true man to do, but falleth agayne to stelpnge, bicause the kyng pardoned hym so freely, and reckeneth that the kyng is so mercifull, that he wyl hange no theues, but deliuer them all of his mercy, without they deseruyng. Nowe howe thynke you? Wyl the kyng be mercifull vnto this thefe, when he cometh agayne to the gallous? Nay trulpy, for he was not deliuered for that cause, but for to kepe hym selfe a true man. When cometh my lord of Rochester, and he saythe, that sayth doth begyn a iustification in vs, But workes do perfourme it, and make it perfyt. I wyl respyte his owne wordes. *Per fidem initiari dicitur iusticia solum, non autem consummari, nam consummata iusticia non aliter quam ex operibus natis, et in luce editis acquiri potest, opera consummate iustificanti.* *Fides primum inchoat. &c.* What christened man wolde thynke, that a byshop wolde thus cryle, and playe with Gods holy worde? Gods worde is so playne, that no man can auoyde it, howe that sayth iustifieth alonely, and now cometh my lord of Rochester, with a lytle, and a bayne distinction, inuented of his owne brayne, without auctorite of scripture, and wyl clerely, auoyde al scriptures, and all the holle disputation of S. Paule. But my lord, say to me of your conscience, howe do you recken to auoyde the vengeaunce of God, sayth you thus cryle, and dyspyse Gods holy worde? Thynke you, that this bayne distinction, wyl be allowed afore Iesus Christ? for whose glory we do contende & streue? afore whom, we handle this matter? I do thynke verely, that your owne conscience dothe soze accuse you, for thus blasphemynge the holy worde of God. wherefore my lord, for Christs sake remembre, that you be aged, & shall not longe tary here, and these bayne distinctions þ you haue inuented to the pleasure of men, and to the great peruertynge of Gods holy worde, shall be to your euertlastynge dampnation. And at the leste wayes, yf you fere not the terrible vengeaunce of God, remembre the shame of the worlde, and thynke not, that all men be so madde, and so vnierned, as for to be disceyued by this trisyng distinction, scinge that the worde of God is so playne agaynst it. Doth not S. Paule say, that our iustification is alonely of saythe? and not of workes? Howe can you auoyde this same? *Non ex operibus? Non of workes?* yf that workes to make iustification perfyt, than are not S. Pauls wordes true? Also S. Paule sayth, that we be the chyldren of God, by saythe. And yf we be the chyldren, we are also the heires. Nowe what imperfection fynde you in chyldren? & in heires? Christen men

Art. 1.

Ephe. 1.

A. 3.

desyre no

desyre no more but this, and al this haue they by sayt be onely. And
 wyll you say, that saythe dorthe but begynne a iustification? Besyde
 that, you knowe well, that s. Paule dorthe pue in all the holle pistles
 to the Romans, and also to the Galatians, that saythe doth iusti-
 fie, yea, & that by contencion agaynst workes. Howe holwe can you
 bynge in workes to make iustification perfecte? And s. Paule hath
 excluded them? Forouer, why dyd not the Jewes, agaynst whose
 workes saynt Paule dispurieth? bynge in this distinction for them?
 Breuely, what wyll you say to all the witours, that I haue here re-
 sited? whiche saye, that sola fides, onely saythe, doth iustifie. But
 doubtles, if it were not to satisfie other men, this distinction were not
 worthy an answer. An other dampnable reason is made, that is an
 open, and a playne lye, whiche is this. Thou saythe that workes do
 not iustifie, nor yet helpe to iustification, but saythe onely. Ergo,
 thou destroyest all good workes, and wyte that no man shall worke
 well, but alonely beleue. I answer, yf there were any wame in
 men, they myght well be ashamed of these open lies. Tell me one,
 that is lerned, & cuer dyd say, or teache, that men shulde do no good
 workes? Many there be, that saye, workes do not iustifie, as saynt
 Paule, and all his scholers, but no man denyeth good workes. But
 I marueyle not at them, for they do but the workes of theyr father,
 whiche was a lyer, and a murtherer from the begynnyng. I praye
 you, what consequent is this, after your owne loyke? workes do
 not iustifie, Ergo, we nede not to do them, but dispue them, for they
 be of no valure. Take a lyke consequent, you saye, that the kynge
 grace doth not iustifie, Ergo, you dispise hym? Ergo, he is no longer
 kynge? Also the sonne, and moone do not iustifie, Ergo, you destroy
 them? But suche a dampnable lye, must s. Paule nedes sustre, whan
 he had proued, that saythe onely dyd iustifie. Than came your ouer-
 thwarre fathers, and sayde, Ergo, thou destroyest the lawe, for thou
 teacher, that it iustifieth not. God forbyd, saythe saynt Paule, for
 we do lerne the very way to fulfill the lawe, that is, saythe, whereby
 the lawe alonely is fulfilled, and without the whiche, all the workes
 of the lawe, be but vyne. So do we lyke wyse teache the very true
 way, whereby all good workes must be done: As fyrst, a man by sayth
 to be iustified, and than a iuste man, must nedes do good workes,
 whiche afore were but vyne, and nowe be all good, yea, his eatyng,
 drynkyng, and slepyng, are good. ¶ But desyde all these, haue
 you receyue scriptures. fyrst of saynt James, whose wordes be
 these. wyte thou vnderstande, o thou vayne man, that sayth with-
 out dedes, is deed? Was not Abraham our father iustified of his
 dedes? Whan he offered his sonne Isaac on the auter? For he wyse
 was not Raab the harlot iustified, whan she receyued the messen-
 gers? and

Rom. iij.

Jaco. ij.

ges? & seise them out an other way. S. Aug. doth declare in by-
uerse places, that blessed s. Paule, and s. James, seemed so to be con-
trary in this matter, And therefore s. Aug. willing to saue the estima-
tion of this epistle, dothe declare, howe that s. Paule doth speake of
workes, & go before saythe, & s. James speaketh of workes, & foloweth
saythe, And yet s. Aug. will not be compelled by the wordes of this
epistle, to graunt, that any workes do iustifie, by the reason, that s.
Paules wordes be so aparty, and vehemently to the contrary. Where-
fore seeing that there sheweth a controuersy here in two places of the
scripture, it standeth with all reason, & lernyng, that the same place,
whiche seemeth so to be feblest, and also darkest, shulde be expounded,
and declared, by that parte of scripture, that is clearest, and mooste of
auctorite. Now is this of reuthe, that the auctorite of s. Paule hath
alwayes in the church of God, ben of more estimaciō, and strength,
then euer was this epistle (though s. this epistle hath ben receyued)
and especyally in this cause, that we nowe here speake of. For in all
the scripture is not this artycle of iustification so playnely, and plen-
tuously handeled, as it is by blessed s. Paule, this muste euery lerned
man graunt. Wherefore it standeth with reason, and lernynge, that
this sayenge of s. James muste nedes be reduced, and broughte vnto
blessed s. Paules meanyng, and not s. Paule vnto s. James sayenge.
Nowe therefore in as moche, that dothe blessed s. Paule, and also s.
James meanyng is, that good workes shulde be done, and they that
be chyssen men, shulde not be ydle, and do no good, bicause that they
are the chyldren of grace, but that they shulde rather in theyr lypynge
expresse outwardly theyr goodnes, receyued of grace, And as blessed
s. Paule sayth, To gyue theyr membes to be seruantes vnto ryghte-
wysenes, as they were afore seruantes vnto vncleynesse. For this cause
(I say) s. James sayenge must nedes be vnderstanded, so to be wyrtten
agaynst those men, & bolstered them selues, of an ydle, & bayne opinion,
that they thought them selues to haue, whiche they reckened to be a
good saythe. Nowe s. James to proue, & this sayth was but an ydle
thing, and of none effeete, both declare it clerely, by that, & it brought
forth in tyme, and place couenient, no good workes. And therefore he
callethe it a deed saythe, He byryngeth in also a naked brother, the
whiche hath nede of clothyng, vnto these men, that dooked theyr
sayth, whiche hath no compassion of his necessite. Wherefore he con-
cludeth, that they haue no reue saythe. And therefore he saythe vnto
them, Wende vnto me the sayth without workes, and I shall wende
vnto the of workes, my saythe. Here is it playne, that sayng
James wolde no more, but that that sayth is a deed sayth, and of no
valure, that hath no workes. For workes shulde declare, and shewe
the outward saythe, & workes shulde be an outwarde declaracion,
and a

Aug. lxxxij.
quest. c. lxxxvj.

Rom. vii

and a testimonie of the inward iustification, receyued of faythe, not
 that workes can or may take away our synne, or elles be any satisfi-
 faction, for any parte of synne, for that belongeth alonely to Christe.
 1. Ioh. ii. As blessed s. Iohn sayth, and also s. Paule, He hath appeered ons for
 all, to put synne to flyght, by the offeringe vp of hym selfe. And that
 Heb. ix. this is s. James meanynge, it is declared by that, & foloweth. Whom
 seest (saythe he) that faythe wrought in Abrahams dedes, & throughte
 the dedes, was his fayth made perfecte. Marke howe fayth wrought
 in his dedes? That is, his faythe, because it was a tryuynge faythe,
 brought forth and wrought out, that by th worke of oblation. Also
 his faythe was perfecte throught his dedes. That is, his faythe was
 declared, and had a great testimonye afore al the worlde, that it was
 a tryuynge, and a perfecte, & a ryght shapen fayth, that Abraham had.
 So that his inward faythe declared hym afore God, and his out-
 ward workes afore the worlde to be good, and iustified. And thus
 was his fayth made perfecte afore God, and man. Now vnto this,
 do we all agree, that that faythe alonely iustificeth afore God, whiche
 in tyme, and place, doth worke well, & it is a tryuynge thyng of God,
 whiche can not be deed, nor ydle in man. But yet for all that, we do
 gyue to fayth, and to Christes bloude, that gloire, that belongeth to
 them onely, & is to say, iustification, remission of synnes, satisfieng
 of Gods wrath, takynge away of euell doynge vengeance, purcha-
 syng of mercy, fulfyllynge of the lawe, with all other lyke thynges.
 The gloire of these, I say, belongeth to Christ onely, & we are partakers
 of them by faythe, in Christes bloude onely. For it is no worke, that
 receyue the promyse made in Christes bloude, but faythe onely.
 Take an exaple. God sayth to Abraham, In thy seide shall I blesse
 all people. Nowe can Abrahams workes do nothyng to receyving
 of this blessinge, nor yet can they make hym hange on that seide, but
 he beleueth God, and sayeth false by faythe to that promyse, and
 thynketh, that God shall be trewe, though he be a lyer. And so is be-
 pertaker of the blessing made in the seide. Note also, that this bless-
 yng is promysed in Abrahams seide, and not to Abrahams workes.
 Ergo, Abraham is blessed, because he hangerth on the seide, and not
 on his workes. Also blessed s. Paule dothe dyspue a soore argument
 agaynst workes, in as moche as scripture sayth, in semine, non in se-
 minibus quasi in multis, sed in vno. Nowe yt workes do helpe lesse
 or more to iustification, than must nedes the promyse be made, and
 partayn to many, and not to one only, the whiche were soye agaynst
 blessed s. Paule. Wherefore I conclude, that the gloire, and prayse of
 iustification belongeth onely to fayth in Christes bloude, and not to
 workes in any wyse. For withstandynge we do also laude, & prayse
 good workes, & do teache diligently to do good workes, in as moche
 as God

as God theyr maker hath commaunded them, yea, and also to profyte their neighbours by their good workes, and furthermore, that other men, whiche blasphemeth the vertue, myght be moued thowgh theyr vertuous lpyng, and conuersation, to the holy religion of Christe. For these causes, and other mo, I say, do I teache good men to lye well, and veriuously, yea, & also we teache, that good workes shall haue a rewarde of God as scripture testifieth, But not redemption of synnes, nor yet iustification, for their rewarde. Wherfore this sayng of S. James muste nedes be heresied agaynst them, that boasted them selues of vayne fayth, that was in dede, but an ydle opinton, and no true faythe, for it dyd not worke thowgh the charite. And therfore S. James disputeth well agaynst them, that this fayth was but a deed thpyng, & coulde not helpe them no more, than it helpeth the deupill. So that this sayng of saynt James, maketh nothyng agaynst me, but rather with me. Also you haue a nother scripture for you, whiche is this. Befoze God, they are not iustified, whiche here the lawe, but they, whiche do the lawe, shalbe iustified. Of this texte you gloze, and say, opera, opera, workes, workes. But yf ye wolde consydre the mynde of saynt Paule, you shulde well perceyue, that he meaneth not, haue workes myght deserue iustification, for than coulde he not haue concluded this agaynst the Jewes, for they dyd the workes of the lawe, to the vttermoste, and yet were they not iustified. Wherfore saynt Paule meaneth by the doers of the lawe, all them, & to the outwarde workes of the lawe, for feare, or for rewarde, or of hypocrisie, or els by them to be iustified. The doers calleth he them, that do the workes of the lawe, after the intent of the lawe, and as the lawe commaundeth them, that is, in the true faythe of Christe Iesus, whiche is the very ende of the lawe, and the fullfyllng of the lawe (as saynt Paule sayth) to all them, that beleue. Wherfore all men be but heres only of the lawe, tyll the tyme that they haue the faythe of Christe Iesus, whiche is imputed vnto them for iustice, And the workes of the lawe be no cause of iustification, but alonely an outwarde testimonie, and wytnes, that the lawe is fullfyled inwardely in theyr conscience afoze God, and so fullfyled, that it hath no accusation agaynst them, for Christe hath made satisfaction for them, of the whiche they be partakers, by theyr faythe, And so the lawe muste be content to admytte all these men, to be fullfyllers, and doers of the lawe. And now, that you shall not say, that this is my dreame, here be S. August. wordes. The doers of the lawe, shall be iustified. So must it be vnderstande, that we may knowe, that they can no nother wyse be the doers of the lawe, excepte, they be by the iustified, not that iustification belongeth vnto doers, but that iustification dothe precede all maner of doyngs. etc. Here you not, that

Rom. 2.

Aug. de sps et lit.

Ag. 1.

iustification

Roma.

Acto. x.

H. quest. vii.
Non omnes
Episcopi.

Math. vii.

iustification is gyfte gyven, that men myghte be able to do the woorkes of the lawe? This is also the exposition of your comon glosse, I haue meruayle you studie it no better. Also you haue another scripture, and that is this. Cornelius a gentyll, dyd great almesse, & prayde vnto God alwayes, vnto whom the aungell spake, on this maner: Thy prayer, & thy almesse, are come vp in to remembrance in the presence of God. Of this texte you gather, that his good woorkes, dyd helpe to iustifie hym. I answer, The holy ghoſte hath openly declared hym selfe there. For he sayth, that this Cornelius was a deuoute man, and one that feared God. Howe coulde this be, without that God had taughte hym inwardely by faythe? yea, howe coulde he knowe God, and that deuouely, but by faythe? Ergo, he was iustified afore God, by his fayth, but the worlde knew not his iustification. And therefore the holy ghoſte doth declare his inward iustification, whan he sayth, that he was deuoute, and feared God, And also dothe shewe openly, the frutes of his iustification, whan he sayth, that he dyd almesse. Moreover, you haue there, that the holy ghoſte fell on them, afore they were baptised in waſter, the whiche declareth openly, that they were iustified afore God. This is well declared also, in your owne lawe, whose wordes be these: Cornelius Centurio, beinge yet a hethen man, was made clene by the gyfte of the holy ghoſt. Here haue you playnly, that he was iustified, by the gyfte of the holy ghoſt, afore all good woorkes. For he was an hethen man. An other scripture ye haue, whiche is this. yf I haue all faythe, so that I may transpose mountaynes, and haue no charite, I am nothyng. Of this gether you, that faythe without charite can not iustifie. I answer. This can you not gether of saynt Paule, for it is open, that he speaketh not of this thyng, whereby that men may be iustified, but alonely he teacheth, howe they that be iustified, must worke with charite. It is also playne, that he speaketh not of faythe, that dothe iustifie inwardly, but of that faythe, that dothe worke outwardely. The whiche is called a gyfte of the holy ghoſte, As the gyfte of tonges, the gyfte of propheties, the gyfte of healyng, the gyfte of interpretation, as it is open in the chapter afore. Howe is this faythe not gyven to iustifie, but alonely to do myracles, wonders, and signes by. And therefore sayth Paule, yf I had all fayth, so þ I coulde moue mountaynes. Also it is open that certayne men shall say vnto Christe, Beholde, we haue done myracles, and caste out deuyls in thy name: And yet he shall say to them, Truly, I knowe you not. So that this faythe is a gyfte of God, that iustifieth not, no more than the gyfte of science, or propheties. And somtyme is it in the church, and somtyme not, and it is neuer of necessity

Faythe onely iustifieth before God.

is necessarie there to be. But the faythe, & we speake of, whiche doth
believe the promyses of God, and stretcheth fast to the bloude of Christ,
hath none other vertue, but to iustifie, and must nedes iustifie, wher
soever he is, and he stretcheth so fast to Gods worde, that he looketh
for no myracles. This faythe is neuer out of the Church, for it is
the lyfe of the Church, and it is that faythe, that our master Christ
prayed for, that it myghte neuer faile. And therefore S. Paule, when
he describeth this faythe, he calleth it a faythe, that worketh by cha-
rityte, not that it iustifieth by charityte. For as he saythe ther playnely,
it is neyther circumcision, nor yet uncircumcision, that is of any va-
lure in Christ Iesu, but faythe. Here wyl he playnely exclude from
iustification, the hyghest worke of the lawe, circumcision, and setteth
faythe alone: not the gyfte of faythe, that dothe myracles, but the
gyfte of faythe, that worketh by charityte. And that ye shall not
thynke this to be a dyame, here bynge I you Athanasius sayinge,
whose wordes be these. ¶ There are two maner of faythes,
one is iustification, as that, of the whiche is spoken, Thy faythe hath
saued the. Another is called the gyfte of God, wherby myracles be
done. Of the whiche it is wryten, yf you haue faythe, as a grapne
of mulleseedes, &c. So that here haue you playne, that faythe
dothe iustifie onely, and perfectly, afore all maner of workes, that is,
fayth is gyven of God freely in to our soules, vnto the whiche fayth,
iustification is alonely promysed, and is alonely imputed, and reckened
of God. Nevertheless, this faythe in tyme, and place conuenient, is
of that strength, that he muste nedes worke by charityte, not for to be
iustified thereby, for if he were not afore iustified, it were not possible,
that he coulde haue charityte. For after your owne schole men, an
Infidell can not haue charityte, but that he is a free seruaunt vnto
God, for the loue, that he hath vnto hym. The whiche loue seeketh
not in God, his owne profyte, nor his owne auantage, for than
were he wyched, but seeketh alonely the wyll of God, and the pro-
fyte of other men, and worketh neyther, for loue of heuen, nor yet
for feare of helle, for he knoweth well, that heuen with all the ioyes
therof, is prepared from the begynnyng of the worlde, not by hym,
but by his father. And it muste nedes folowe, as contrary wyse, the
Infidell, and the wyched man, dothe not worke his wyched dedes,
because he wolde haue helle, or euerlastyng dampnacion, to his re-
warde, but he wolde rather the contrary. For withstanding, helle,
and euerlastyng dampnacion, must nedes folowe his wyched dedes.
Finally, a ryght wyse man, is a free seruaunt of Gods, and wor-
keth not as an hypocrite. For yf it were possible, that there were
no heuen, yet wold he do no lesse good, for his respecte is to the
maker of the worlde, and the lord of all rewarde.

Joh. xvii.

Gal. vi.

Athanas.
Rom.

There is also an other argument, and that is this. Faythe is a worke. yf workes doth not iustifie, ergo, fayth doth not iustifie. But true it is, that we do not meane, howe that faythe, for his owne dignite, and for his owne perfection, doth iustifie vs. But the scripture dothe saie, that faythe alonely iustifieth, bicause that it is that thyng alonely, wherby I do hange of Christe. And by my faythe alonely, am I partaker of the merites, & mercy purchased by Christes bloude, And faythe, it is alonely, that receiue the promyses made in Christe. Wherfore we saie with blessed S. Paule, that faythe onely iustifieth imputatiue, that is, All the merites, and goodnes, grace, and fauour, and all that is in Christe, to our saluacion, is imputed, and reckened vnto vs, bicause we hange, and beleue of hym, and be can disceiue no man, that doth beleue in hym. And our iustice is not (as the schole men teacher) a formal iustice, whiche is by fulfilling of the lawe, deserued of vs, For than our iustification were not of grace, and of mercy, but of deseruynge, and of duetie. But it is a iustice, that is reckened, and imputed vnto vs, for the fayth in Christ Iesus, And it is not of our deseruynge, but clerely, and fully of mercy imputed vnto vs.

Now most honozable, and gracypus prince, I haue here declared vnto your highnes, what faythe it is, that dothe iustifie vs before God, and also brought for my sentence, not alonely the blessed worke of God, the whiche were sufficient in this cause, But the exposition of holy doctours, that your grace myght se, that I am not moued to this opinion of a lyghte cause, nor that this doctryne of myne is so newe, as men hath noted it. Moreover, I haue declared vnto your grace, howe that I wolde haue good workes done, and wolde not haue a christen mans lyfe, to be an ydle thyng, or elles a lyfe of vncleennes, But I wolde haue them to be chaunged in to all vertue, and goodnes, and to lyue in good workes, after the comaundement, and wyll of God. So that your grace may well perceiue, & myne ouersarpes hath not reported truely on me, when they haue sayde, howe that I wolde, that men shulde neither faste, nor pray, nor gyue almes, nor yet be penitent for thei synnes. I haue neuer sayde it, nor yet taughte no lyke sentence, I take God to recorde, my wordes, and my dedes, & all my wyrtynge, that euer I wrote, or made,

wherfore I doubte not, yf it please your grace, graciously to here me, but that I wyll proue them vntrewe in this cause, and many other mo. This doth almyghty god knowe to be true. Who euer preferreth your mooste exall maiestie, in honour, and goodnes,

A M E

It is no newe doctrine that is nowe taughte.

What holy Church is, and who be thereof, and
wherby men may knowe her.



A my first booke I dyd declare, howe that certayn men
dyd take vpon them to be counted of holy Church,
whose maners, and luyngs, dyd nothyng agree with
holy church. But after that cometh mayster Moore,
and he layeth to my charge, that I counted all the spi-
ritualtie to be noughte, bicause he wolde make my name somewhat
obious vnto them. But verely he doth me great wronge, for it was
neuer my meaning, nor yet my sayinge. But myn entente was to de-
clare, that neyther the Pope, nor his college of Cardinales, nor yet
all the byshoppes in the worlde, gathered togyther, dyd make holy
church, bicause of theyr names, or elles for theyr longe gownes,
or for theyr shauen crownes, or els anoynted fyngers, nor yet for any
other exterior thynges, that the worlde had in admiration. But yet
nevertheles I dyd graunt, & also do now, confesse many good men
to haue shauen crownes, and also longe gownes. But yet for these
thynges, they were neuer the more of the church. All the popes le-
uyng hath ben, that he, and his, hath ben the church, the whiche
can not erre, & all thynges, that belonge vnto them, were called the
goodes of holy church. All lawes made by them, were the lawes of
holy Church. They myghte not be conuented afoze no temporall
pynce, bicause they were men of holy church. They myght not be
hanged for muether, bicause they were anoynted, & of holy church.
Whereas, there be innumerable suche thynges inuented of them, to
mayntayne, and to defende theyr holynes, and to proue, that they be
holy church, & whiche thynges, I thinke, M. Moore can not deny.
And yf he wolde, yet there be a great many of booke for the comyng,
to proue my sentence agaynst hym. And also the practise that hath
ben vled in the worlde, wyl testifie the same. I thinke M. Moore,
nor yet any man luyng, dyd euer knowe in his tyme, that any man
was rudded, or taken to be of the church, but suche men, as I haue
spoken of. And I thinke this name church, was neuer named, but
it was taken specially, & principally, for those men, that had shauen
crownes, and other lyke tokens. Let me be reported to those men,
that be on lyue. Nowe, bicause I sawe, that these thynges were no-
thyng the cause of holy church, nor yet belonged greatly to holy
church, therefore I say, was I moued to declare what holy church
was, and who were thereof, and by what signes, and tokens, men
myght knowe her.

87

riti. qu. 1. c.
Quodcumq in
verbo Recon-
ciliat.

Nowe to declare this, I broughte certayne places of scripture to
proue, that this word Ecclesia, was taken in scripture, for the holle
congregation

M. J.

Eph. v.

Aug. de h'bis
dñi. Ser. l.

Joh. vi.

I. Cor. vi.

Doye euill
men be in the
churche.what the ve-
ry true
churche is

Rom. viij.

Domo mor-
uus non est
domo.

congregacion, both of good, and badde. But. I sayde, I wolde not greatly speake of that congregacion, for that was not it, that coulde not erre, of the whiche was myne intent to speake. And I broughte for me, the saying of s^t Paul. Christe hath gyuen hym selfe, for his churche, that he myght sanctifie her, & cleanse her, in the fountayne of water, through the worde of lyfe, to make her to hym selfe a glorious churche, without spotte, or wrynkle, or any suche thyng, But that she myghte be holy, and without blame. To proue, that s^t churche was cleansed by Christe, I brought the saying of s^t Augustyne for me. Of Christe is the churche made sayre, first was she fylthy in synnes, afterwarde by pardon, and by grace, was she made sayre. &c. Moreouer, to proue, that this churche was made cleane by Christe, and not by names, or by clothyng, or by any other exteriour thyng, I broughte for me the saying of s^t Joh. of the sonne of God haue deliuered you, than are you truly deliuered. Also s^t Paul. You are washed, you are sanctified, you are iustified, in the name of Iesus Christ, and in the spirite of God. But vnto these thynges, wth s^t M^{or}e answeere, that I w^old not well to exclude, out of this churche, bad men, for the knowne churche (sayth he) standeth in a gatherynge together of good men, and badde, and to proue that, he byngeth in certeyne parables of our sauour Christe. To this I answeere, that I neuer denyed, but that there was suche a congregacion of good, and badde, But I sayde, that that was not the very true churche, afore God, though it bere the name of the churche, and in very dede, his owne parables doth declare, that our mayster Christ shall at length, gyue sentence agaynst them, & call them selues falsely of the churche. Judas was called an apostle, and taken so of all his company, But yet our s^t Christ calleth hym the deuyll. Nowe of s^t M^{or}e w^old haue Judas in his churche, I muste be content, that he shall also be trape Christe. The very trueth is, that badde men ben myxt here in the churche, and after outwarde signes, ben taken for members of the churche, specially, if they be not excommunicate. But the churche, whiche I byd speake of, was not a felyshyp gathered together in consent of exteriour thynges, and ceremonies, as other polyphe felyshyps be. But it is a felyshyp specially gathered in the vnite of faythe, hauryng the holy ghost within them to sanctifie theyr spittes, whiche doth let theyr trueth onely in the redemption promysed them, in Christes blessed bloude. This I say, is the very trewe churche of God, let the worlde say what they wyl, and let men call them selues as w^olepleaseth them. For as saynt Paul sayth, he that hath not the spirite of God, is none of his. Also s^t M^{or}s lemyng w^old graunte that euill men, ben the deed members of the churche, what they be worthe, let other men iudge. But s^t M^{or}e rethureth, that there is not suche

not suche a church here in erth, that is without spotte, and wrinkle,
as S. Paule saythe. For the church, saythe he, is here gracious, and
not glorious. Truly, I haue marueyle, what he meaneth, thus to
expounde S. Pauls saying: for I thynke he can not proue, but S.
Pauls saying is verified of the church, & is here militant, and not of
the church triumphant. But I wyll not at this tyme greatly dispute
with M. Moore. But, and yf he were as he hath ben, I wolde saye
some thyng more to hym, than I wyll do at this tyme. We can ney-
ther moche me, nor lesse me out of conceyte, and I were disposed to
cople with hym, nor it is not his soule, and wameles wordes, and
vntreue sayings, that he layeth to me, that coulde fere me. But nowe,
that it hath pleased God (without any helpe, or knowledge of me)
to bynne hym vnto this falle, I wyll pray to God for hym, to graue
hym grace, that he may reuoke all suche false doctryne, as he hath
brought in to the worlde. For doubtles, yf he abyde in the mea-
ning, & he is nowe in, I do not se, howe he can dye Gods seruant.
yca, his owne knowne church is agaynst hym, to whome (he saythe)
men are bounde to beleue, vnder payne of dampnation. But truly,
as God shall iudge me, I am sorie for his trouble, yf I coulde helpe
hym with any lawfull meanes, I wolde to my best, so euill wyll bere
I hym. But to pcede further in my matter, I will not greatly speake
moche of the church, by the reason, & many other men, syns my first
wrytyng, hath declared this article, moche better, than I can do.
Wherfore I wyll alonly recite & places of holy doctours, & I brought
for me in my first booke, and the intent wherfore I alledged them. To
proue, & the church was a fre thyng, throughout all the worlde, and
not bolide, epyther to place, or to person. I brought for me the saying
of saynt Augustyn, sayeng these wordes. The holy church are we.
But I do not say, are we, as one wolde say, we that be here alonely,
that here me nowe, but as many as ben here saythfull chrysten men
in this church, that is to saye, in this cite, as many as ben in this
region, as many as be beyonde the see, as many as be in al the holle
worlde (for from the rising of the sonne, tyll the goyng downe, is the
name of God prayed.) So is the holy church our mother. &c.
Also Lysa sayth, The church doth not stande in men, by the reason
of spirituall power, or secular dignite. For many prynces, and many
Popes, and other inferior persones, haue swerued from the saythe.
Wherfore the church doth stande in those persones, in whom is the
true knowledge, and confession of saythe, and of verite. &c.
Here Lysa sayth as moche as I do, in clere wordes. And M. Moore
darbe not, nor yet can refail hym. Afterwarde I brought a sayinge of
S. Augustine, to proue, that the church hath spottes, and wrinkles
in her. And yet by confessyng of them, and by apychyng to Chysten
blende, they be not imputed vnto her. This is his sayinge.

Eph. y.

Maist. More
layeth many
thyngs to me
wongfully.

Aug. Sermo.
lxxxix. de tra-
pore.

Lysa in 2^o ap.
ca. xix.

De 16. 4. p. 11.
sermo. 315.

The holle churche prayeth, Lord forgive us our synnes. wherfore
we hath spottes, and wyrcles. But by knowlegynge of them, her
wyrcles ben stretched out, and by knowledgynge, her spottes are
washed away. The churche continueth in prayer, that we myghte be
clefed by knowlegynge of her synnes, And as longe as we here lue,
so standerh it. And whan euery man departeth out of this body, all
suche synnes are forgiven hym, the whiche oughte to be forgiven.
For they be forgiven by dayly prayer, and he gothe hence clealed.
And the churche of God, is layde vp in the treasure of God, for pure
golde, and by this meane, the churche of God is in the treasure of
our lord, without spotte or wyrcell. Sequitur. Let vs therfore
pray, that God may forgive us, and þ we may forgive out tennours,
seyng it is sayde, And it shall be forgiven vnto you. We saye this
dayly, and dayly we do this, and this thyng is done dayly in vs. We
are not here without synne, But we shall departe hens without
synne, &c. Let euery man iudge, whether that this place of saynt
 Augustyne, maketh for my purpose, or not, that is to saye, whether
 that the churche hath any spottes or wyrcles in her, or not. And yet
 neuertheles, we hath no spottes, nor wyrcles. For S. Augustyne
 saythe, that the churche of God, is in the treasure of God, without
 any spotte, so that through Gods mercy, nothyng is imputed vnto
 her. Her cleannes is not, that she hath no spottes, but bicause, that
 for Christis sake, there is nothyng layde to her charge. After
 more maketh many wordes of veniall synnes, and deedly synnes.
 But to speake after his owne scholermen, it shulde be harde for hym
 to defende, that exposition, that he here maketh of saynt Augustyne.
 But to proue, that the churche is cleane, by the reason of Christe, I
 brought for me theyr owne lawe, whose wordes be these. Therefore
 is the churche holy, bicause she belueth ryghtuously in God. &c.
 Furthermore, to proue, that this congregation of saythfull men, is
 the churche, that can not erre, I brought for me theyr owne lawe,
 whose wordes be these. The holle churche can not erre. &c. Also in
 an other place. The congregation of saythfull men muste nedes be,
 whiche also can not erre. &c. So that it is cleere, firste, þ there must
 nedes be a cōgregation of saythfull men, whiche be neyther bounde
 to Rome, nor to Hierusalem, nor yet to any certayne place, but it is
 spredde abroad throughout the holle worlde, & standerh in the unites
 of saythfull chrysten men. And þ is the churche, that God suffereth
 not to erre, in those thynges, that belonge to saluacion. Wherfore I
 byd say in my other boke, þ the popes counsels were not the churche,
 that coulde not erre. For to the moste parrt, those counsels byd not
 ordre them selues after Gods worde. Wherfore I saye, they myght
 well erre. And for that cause a pryuate person, hauinge scripture for
 hym, ought

De conse. D.
iii. c. 3. g. 1. r.

iiii. q. i. A
recta in glos.

him, ought to be preferred afore a holle counsell, yf they had no scrip-
ture. For Gods worde, ought to be iudge ouer all counsell, and
to proue this, I brought for me the sayeng of Damocritanus, which
saythe. The counsell may erre, as it hath erred, concerning the con-
tracte of matrimonye betwixt Raprozin & Rapfain. And the sayenge
of S. Hierome, was afterwarde preferred aboue þe statute of the cou-
sell, as it is proued .3.6. quest. 2. Tria. For in thynges concernyng
the saythe, the sayeng of a priuate person, is to be preferred afore the
sayenge of the Pope, yf he haue better reasons and scriptures of the
newe, and olde testamēt for hym, then the pope hath. Neether it
can helpe to saye, that the counsell can not erre, bicause that Churche
dyd pray, þe sayth of the churche shulde not faile. For I answered
to this, that though the generall counsell do represente the holle
vniuersal churche, yet neuertheles, in very dede, there is not the vni-
uersal church, but representatiue. For the vniuersal churche, standeth
in þe election of all faithfull men, throughout the holle worlde, whose
heed and spouse is Churche Iesus. And the Pope is but the vicar of
Churche, and not the very heed of the churche. This is the churche,
that can not erre. &c. Here saythe this doctour, that same sentence
of the churche, that I sayde. I brought also for the same purpose, the
sayeng of Augustyne whose wordes be these. Those counells, that
be gathered in euery prouince, muste without doubte, gyue place to
the autorite of þe full counells, which be gathered of all chrystendom.
And also those full counelles, often tymes, muste be amended by the
full counells, that come afterwarde, yf any thyng be opened by expe-
rience, that was afore shute. And yf any thyng be knowne, that
was afore hydden. And this must be done without any shadowe of
superstitious pryde, without any boisted arrogancye, without any co-
uicion of malicious enuy, but with holy mekenes, with holy peate,
and with churche charite. &c. Here S. Augustyne saythe plainly,
that the full counells may erre, and may be resourmed. After this I
dyd declare, howe a man shulde knowe this churche, and by what
signes, and tokens, and saye, that where as the worde of God was
purely, and syncretely preached, & the sacramentes ordzely ministered,
after the blessed ordinaunce of Churche, And where as men dyd paci-
ently suffice for the verite, and the heretics dyd applye theyr lyfynge to
Churche doctrine, and with mekenes receyued the holy sacramentes.
These I sayde, were good, and persyte tokens, to iudge vpon, that
ther were certeyne members of Churche churche. And to proue this,
I brought saynt Augustyne, sayinge: Our holy mother the churche,
through all the worlde scattered farre, & wyde, in her true heed Churche
raughe, hath lerned not to feare the contumelies of the Crosse, nor
yet of berthe, But more, & more, is she strengthened, not in resistyng,

De electio .c.
Significasti.

The counsell
of weldens
dyd erre.

En. de Bapt.
li. ii. cap. iii.

The full coun-
sels may erre

howe a man
may knowe
the churche.

The churche
sufferech.

Christ. in ope-
re Implecto.

By scriptures
we may know
the verite.

but in sufferynge. Also Crisostomes wordes be these. They that be in Judea, let them flee by to the mountaynes, that is to saye, they that be in Christendome, let them geue them selues to scriptures. Wherfore comaunded he, that all christen men, in that tyme, shoulde flee vnto scriptures? For in that tyme, in the whiche, heresyces haue opayned in to the churche, there can be no true pbacion of christendome, nor no other refuge vnto Christen men, wyllynge to knowe the verpte of sayth, but the scriptures of God. Afoze by many ways was it shewed, whiche was the churche of Christe, and whiche was the congregacion of the Gentyles. But now, there is none other way to them, that wyll knowe, whiche is the very true churche of Christ, but alonely by scriptures. By workes, fyrste was the churche of Christe known, whan the congregacion of christen men, cyther of all, or of many were holy, the whiche holynes had not þe wyched men. But now, christen men be as puell, or worse, than heretikes, or gentyles: pea, and greater continencie is founde amonge them, than christen man. Wherfore he that wyll know, whiche is the very churche of Christe, howe shall he knowe, but by scriptures onely? And therfore our lord consyderynge, þe so great confusion of thyngs shoulde come in the latter dayes, for that cause comaundeth he, that christen men, wyllynge to reserue the stedfastnes of true saythe, shoulde flee vnto none other thyng, but vnto scriptures. For yf they haue respecte vnto other thynges, they shall be sclaudered, and shall perpe, not vnderstandynge, whiche is the true churche. &c.

After Moze hath no great thyng in this poynt agaynst me, sayynge, that he saythe, these sayinges is none of Christ. but of a nother man wyten in Christ. name. Neuertheles, I let it passe, let other men iudge betwene vs bothe. Afterwarde, bicause þe I sawe so great persecution vsed by the popes churche, agaynst all maner of sortes of good men, whom maister Moze calleth heretikes, more for his pleasure, than for theyr deservynge. For this cause, I saye, I broughte a sayinge of Hilarius, to proue, that they, that dyd execute suche tyranny, were more to be compared to the Arians, than to Christis churche, his sayinge is this. The churche dothe threaten with banysmentes, and imprisonmentes, and she compelleth men to beleue her, whiche was exyled, and cast in prisone. She hangerh on the dignitie of her self wypp, the whiche was consecrated by the thearmynges of ysecutours. She causeth preestes to flee, that was encreased by the chafynge away of preestes. She gloryeth, that she is loued of the worlde, the whiche coulde neuer be Christ, excepte the worlde dyd hate her. &c. After this I broughte a sayinge of S. Barnarde, to proue, that the name of spirituall arrape, a gozrous apparell, þe is vsed in the popes churche, dyd nat make the churche.

His sayinge

Has. contra
Arianos.

Barn. sup. ca.
sermo. xxiii.

His sayinge is this. They be the ministers of Christ, but they serue Antichrist, they go gorgeously arrayed, of our lordes goodes, vnto whom they geue no honour. And of these cometh the deckyng of harlottes, that thou seyst daily. The game players, disguysinge, and kynges apparell. Of this cometh golde in theyr byrdels, in theyr sabelles, & in theyr spures. So that theyr spures be bryghter than the altars. Of this cometh theyr plentuous wyne presses, and theyr full sellers, bolkyng from this vnto that. Of this cometh theyr tonnes of swete wyne. Of this be theyr bagges so fylled. For suche thynges, as these be, wyll they be rulers of the churche. As deacons, archdeacons, bysshops, and archebysshops. &c.

Men may make an exposition of i. Barnarde, but it wyll be harde to frame hym to theyr purpose. But for a conclusion, mayst. More, and I, do vary, but in this poynte, that he saythe, the very churche of God standeth by them, that be good, and badde. And I say, that the true churche of Christ, standeth in them onely, that be good men. For the kyngdome of Christ is distinated in very dede, from the kyngdome of the deuyll. For yuell men be douerles the membres of the dyuell, as Paule saythe, Ephe. 2. Also our mayster Christe saythe, vnto the phariseys: you are of your father the deuyll. wherfore

it can not stande with no lernyng, that wycked men, whiche be

the membres of the deuyll, and be gouerned by hym, can

be membres of Christes body, though that in this

present lyfe, they be not yet so declared vnto

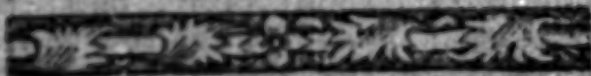
the worlde. God sende vs all his grace,

þ we may be of his holy churche,

and medres of his blessed

son, Christ Iesus.

A M E N.



Frewyll of man, after the falle of Adam, of his naturall strength, can do nothyng but spurne, afore God.



In this article wyl we not dispute, what man may do, by the comon influence gyuen hym of God, ouer these inferiour, and worldly thynges, as what power he hath in eatyng, and drynkynge, in slepyng, and speakynge, in byryng, and sellynge, and in all other suche naturall thynges, that be gyuen of God, indifferently to all men, bothe to good, and bad. But here wyl we serche, what strength is in man, of his naturall power, without the spirite of God, for to wyl, or to do those thynges, that be acceptable afore God, vnto the fulfylling of the wyl of God, as to beleue in God, to loue God after his commaundementes, to loue iustice for it selfe, to take God for his father, to recken hym to be mercifull vnto hym, to feare God louigly, with all other thynges, that men do call good workes, this is the thyng, that we wyl serche to knowe. Nowe, that he can do nothyng in these causes, by his free wyl, our mayster Christ proueth it in these wordes: He that abydeth in me, & I in hym, byngeth forth the moche frute, for without me, can you do nothyng: yf a man abyde not in me, he is caste out as a bryanche, and he shall burne. Here it is open, that frewyl, without grace, can do nothyng. I do not speake of eatyng, and drynkynge (though that be of grace) but nothyng that is frutefull, that is meritorious, that is worthy of thanke, that is acceptable afore God. For he that hath not Christ in hym, is cast out, this is the fyrste frute of frewyl: than wyddereth he, that is the seconde frute, this wydderynge helpeth hym nothyng to goodnesse, he muste wyddere let hym do his best: than is he gathered, and caste in the fyre, this is the thyrde frute. What can he in the fyre do? nothyng but burne. He can not lye there, as a thyng indifferent, but he must nedes burne, and he can not come out of the fyre by his owne strength: let hym intende asmoche as he can; his intencion can not helpe hym, nor yet forther hym. So yf all the myght of frewyl, whan he is lefte alone, is nothyng els, but fyrste to be cast out, and seconde to wydder, so decayeth he, thyrde, to be caste in to the fyre, All this is worse, & worse. Finally, he burneth, this is worst of all, for here is he past helpe, so yf this is the strength, that frewyl hath, to byryng hym selfe to utter destruction. Nowe, where wyl our Duns men, byryng in theyr bonum conatum? they are so longe in byryng of it in, that frewyl is broughte to the fyre, and there can he neyther saue hym selfe from burnyng, nor yet helpe hym selfe out. But to this my lord of Worchester answereth in a certayn place, that frewyl can do no good meritorious, sed tamen non olo facit nihil.

whas

In what thin
ges we haue
frewyll / in
what none.

Johan. xv.

The frute of
frewyll.

Bona intencio

What is this to say, but nihil? yf he do no good, that is meritorious,
 not worthy of thake afoze God. I pray you, what woth he, but nihil?
Our disputation is, what goodnes he can do, without grace, & you
grant, y he can do no goodnes, & yet you say, y he can do somthyng.
 But let vs se howe l. Aug. vnderstandeth this terte off. Jo. Lett any
 man wulde suppose, y the bzañche of hym selfe coude bynge forth,
 at the lest ways, a lytle frute, therfoze sayth he, not without me, can
 you do a lytle, but without me can you do nothyng, therfoze whether
 it be litle, or moche, without hym, can it not be done, without whom
 is nothyng done. One of two thynges, must the bzañche nedes do,
 eyther abyde in the vine, or elles burne in the fyre, yf it be not in the
 vine, than is it in the fyre. &c. **R.** yf lord, where wyl you bynge in
 here, your somthyng, that frewyl dothe? **S.** Augustyn sayth, with-
 out grace, canst wyl do, neyther lytle, nor moche, for yf the be not
 in Christ, we burneth in the fyre. Call you that somwhat? Where be
 nowe **R.** Dunstons men, with theyr bonū conatum, bonū studium, &
 applicationem ad bonū. Here muste they nedes lye in the fyre, with
 all theyr good intentes, with theyr good preparacions, & theyr holy
 dyspositions. Also saynt Paule, we are not sufficient, to thynke any
 thyng of our selfe, as it were of our selfe, but our sufficiēcie, is of god.
 What is this? that we are not able to thynke any thyng of our selfe?
 What can be a smaller thyng, than to thynke? & yet this small thyng
 can we not do. It is also open, that saynt Paule meaneth not of the
 thynkyng, that cometh by naturall power, for that God dothe not
 let, but letteth it proccede, after his spysite ordinaunce, as we haue open
 experience in infidels. But here he speaketh of suche a thynkyng, as
 is acceptible, and thankfull afoze God, & therfoze foloweth it, God
 hath made vs woorthye ministers of the newe testament. Here is it
 open, that he speaketh of that thynkyng, that is a singuler, and a
 specyall gyfte of God, and not of the comen gyfte of nature, for that
 were nothyng, to the ministracion of the gospel. But let vs se what
 l. Barnarde saythe, of this terte. What shall we say? is this alonely
 all the merite of frewyl, that he dothe alonely consent? ye doubtes.
 Not that, y same consent, in the which is all his merite, is not of god,
 whan y we can neyther thynke (the which is lesse, than to consent)
 any thyng of our selues, as though we were sufficient of our selues,
 these wordes be not myne, but the apostles, the which gyueth vnto
 God, & not to his frewyl, all maner of thynges, y can be good, that
 is to say, to thynke, to wyl, or to performe. &c. Here you nor, that
 all thynges, that can be good l. Barnarde gyueth to God? No, we,
 what strengthe hath frewyl, he can neyther thynke good, nor wyl,
 nor yet performe it? what remaineth? I knowe nothyng, but eyther
 it is included in thynkyng, in wyllyng, or in performinge, and all
 these

Sup Joanne
 trac. lxxxi.

ij. Corin. iij.

Barnarde
 lab. arbit.

Matth. vii.

these be gyven to God. Also our M. Chyriste sayth, Shall men gather grapes of thornes, or fygges of brome bushes? An euill tree, can brynge forth the good frute. What meaneth our mayster, when he sayth, that grapes be not gathered of thornes? nothyng els, but that the frute must be lyke the nature of the tree. And therfore sayth he, an euill tree, can not brynge forth the good frute. Howe, can you not denye, but that freewyll without grace, is an euill tree, ergo, his frute must nedes be euill, he may well brynge forth frute, but it shall not be good. Is not all freewylls power declared in these wordes, he can not? I pray you, what meaneth our M. Chyriste in these wordes, he can not? Chyriste sayde, he can not, and wyl you say, he can?

Matth. xii.

Also our M. sayth, you adders bydes, howe can you speake good thynges, sayng that you be euill. Had not these men freewyll? and yet sayth our mayster, they coulde not speake good thynges, you reken it but a small power, to speake good, & yet as small as it is, freewyll can not do it, he may well speake, but it shall not be good. For howe shoulde he speake good, that is euill of hym selfe? howe shoulde he do good, that knoweth no good? but is the very enemy of goodnes, yea and asmoche as lyeth in hym, he wolde there were no goodnes. You haue also a comen principle, there is nothyng loued, and bespyed, but that, is knowne. Howe, howe shoulde freewyll flee from synne, and desyre goodnes, and he knoweth not, whiche is very synne, & whiche not?

Rom. iii.

As s. Paule sayth, by the lawe, is the knowlege of synne. So blynde is freewyll, that he knoweth not synne, to be synne, nor vertue, to be vertue, but iudgeth that thyng to be good, that is euill, and that thyng, that is euill, to be good, for he is lost, and hath no true iudgement. As s. Augustyne sayth, what goodnes can he do, that is losse, excepte that he be deliuered from his miserie? Can he to any good by his freewyll? God forbid, for man euill blynge his freewyll, dyd bothe lose hym selfe, and also his freewyll, & as man being aloue, dothe kyll hym selfe, and when he hath kylled hym selfe, he can not make hym selfe aloue agayne. So lykewyse, when we do synne by freewyll, and synne hath the victory, than is freewyll clene losse, for of whom a man is overcome, vnto hym must he be seruant. Doubtes, this sentece is of Peter the apostle, the whiche, seinge that it is true,

In Enche.
c. 114.

1. Pet. ii.

I pray you what maner of freedom can a bonde seruant haue? except it be, when it pleaseth hym to synne. &c. What can be sayde to this? doth he not clerely say, man hath lost his freewyll by synne? & can no more do vnto goodnes, than a deed man can do, to make hym selfe aloue agayne? yea, he can do nothyng, but delygth in synne. Call you that a freedom? Call you that bonum conatum? Call you that a preparyng to grace? S. Augustyne doth declare, what goodnes, that freewyll deserueth, without grace, sayng, O cursed freewyll, without

De verbis ap.
post. i. c. 114.

God, we

God, we haue experience, what freewyll can do without God, therefore are we miserable, because we haue experience, what freewyll is able to do, without God. Beholde, man was made good, and by his freewyll, was he made an euill man. Whan shall an euill man by his freewyll, forsakyng God make a man good, he being good, coulde not kepe hym selfe good, and now, that he is euill, shall he make hym selfe good? Whan y he was good, he kepte not hym selfe good, and now, that he is euill, shall he say, I make my selfe good? &c. Here is the very strength of freewyll, by his strength, are we made miserable, and that doth experience lerne, And yet we bolle freewyll? S. Aug. calleth it cursed freewyll, & wyll we call it blessed freewyll? Is not this a goodly freedom, & great power, to byng vs to this cuerlasting miserie? This is our bonū conatū, & facere qd in se est, & preparare ie ad graciā, with other dāpnable byemes, y we haue, whose conclusions are nothig els, but to bynge vs to dāpnation. You se S. Aug. word; be so playne, y no man can auoyde them. Also S. P. sayth, The wysdome of fleshe, is enemy to God, it is not subiecte vnto y lawe, nor can be, for they that serue the fleshe, can not please God. And he that hath not y spirit of Christ, the same man is none of his, for the selfe spirit bereth wytnes to our spirit, y we be the chylde of God. Here haue you playnly, y the wysdome of the fleshe, is very enemy agaynst God, it can not be layd, but by wysdom, he vnderstandeth the best thyng, y is in man, for better thā wysdom, can there nothyng be, and yet that is enemy to God, for it is but fleshe, & all that is in man, without the spirit of God, and that S. Paule declareth, whan he sayth, he that hath not the spirit of Christ, the same man is not Christes. Here is playne, that wyll, reason, wysdom, herte, or what soeuer thyng, that is in man (without y spirit of God) is but fleshe, and can not be obedient. He sayth not, he wyll not, but he can not, he hath no myght, he hath no power, let hym intende his best, do all that lyeth in hym, with all his myght, and all his power, & yet can it not please god, for it is all but fleshe. But here W. Duns wyll make a distinction, & say, y fleshe is taken here for fleshely desires only, and voluptuousnes, & not for the desires of the soule, nor for the election of the wyll. I wolde knowe, what parte in man it is, that desireth? or y couereth this voluptuousnes? It is not the bones, nor y synowes, nor the fleshe y hangereth thereon, but it is the hyest pte of man, the very soule of man, he is the growde, & auctor of all concupiscens, take away hym, & there remayneth no voluptuousnes. Therefore S. Paule declareth hym, & his opacion, whan he calleth it the wysdome of the fleshe. But I wolde gladly knowe, what he vnderstandeth, by vniuersal desires, and by voluptuousnes? It he vnderstande, euill cogitations, as aduoutrye, fornicacion, manslaughter, thefte, concupiscens, disceyte, vniuenes, blasphemy, pryde, and folyeues.

Rom. viii.

Duns.

Mar. vii.

Rom. viij.

De iohis dñi
anno. xv.

Rom. viij.

De verbis
apost. i. i.

If he calle these voluptuousnes, these be they, that come from the herte of man, and be chosen by the election of the wyll, as our sct. Chyriste dothe clerely declare, Marc. viij. yea, and that from the very bottome of the herte. Can they inuent any other vncleynly desyres, than these? & these come not from the bones, nor from the synowes, but from the very grounde of the herte, and these be all his desyres, and other hath he none of hym selfe. Wherefore these dreamers dreame, they wote not what, and speake, that they vnderstande not. For all that is in man, herte, soule, fleshe, & bone. &c. with all theyr workes, is but fleshe, excepte the spirite of God be there. Euery man hath a soule, but by that is he not Chyriste, for than infidels were Chyrist, but the spirite of Chyrist, maketh hym Chyriste, and the spirite of god gyueth wytnes to our spirite, that we be the chyldren of God, Our spirite gyueth no wytnes to hym selfe, that he is Chyriste, for than were the spirite of God frustrate. Wherefore let our spirite encreas as well as he can, studye his beste, applye hym selfe to goodnes, after the bittermoste of his power, & yet is it but wyledome of the fleshe, and hath no wytnes of God, yea, it is but an enemy, & it must nedes be synne. For s. Augustine sayth, He that fedeth without me, fedeth agaynst me. &c. Marke howe he saythe, agaynst me. Wherefore all that frewyll can do without grace, is but synne. Marke also, that Paule dyd wyte vnto the iewes, yea, & to the best of them, whiche dyd studye to do good workes, yea, & that the best workes, that were the workes of the lawe, and yet all these he calleth but fleshe, and declareth openly, that all these good workes coude not helpe them, and yet no doubte, but that the iewes dyd as moche as lay in theyr frewyll to do, to come to the sauour of God, and yet it helpte not, for all was but wyledome of the fleshe, and enemye to God.

Also s. Paule saythe, yf you mortifie the dedes of the fleshe, by the spirite, you shall lyue. You wyll not rechen, that s. Paule doth iudge the spirite of God necessary, to kille the desyres of the fleshe, that is of the synowes, or of the bones, or of any other thyng, that is in man, besyde the spirite of man, for that were but a small thyng, yea, it were but frustrate to let the spirite of God to kille these thynges, for the spirite of man can kille them, yea, and also rule them. For after your owne phylosophers, the spirite of man, is the ruler, and the gyder of all the workes, that be done by the body. Wherefore the spirite of God muste be he, that shall kille the disease of our spirite, the whiche is the moste spirituall thyng in vs, & yet is it but fleshe afore God. For yf there were any power in hym, hye, or lowe, to kille his desyres, than were it but boyde, to call the spirite of God to helpe. But let vs here what s. Augustine saythe, in this tere, yf you mortifie your fleshe. &c. Thou wylte say, that can my wyll do, that

can do nothyng but synne alyne God.

that can my freewyll do. What wyll? What maner of freewyll? except
that he guyde the, thou fallest, excepte he lyfte the vp, thou lyest syl.
Howe canst thou than do it by thy spirite, scinge & the apostle sayth,
As many as be ledde by the spirite of God, be the chyldren of God.
Wylle thou do of thy selfe? Wylle thou be led of thyn owne selfe to
merite the dedes of the fleshe? What wyll it profite the? For yf
thou be not an Epicure, thou shalt be a Stoycke? Whether thou be
an Epicure, or a Stoycke, thou shalt not be amonge the chyldren of
God. For they that be guyded of the spirite of God, be the chyldren
of god, not they, that lyue after theyr owne fleshe, not they, that lyue
after theyr owne spirite, not they, that be ledde of theyr owne spirite,
but as many as be ledde of the spirite of God, they be the chyldren
of God. But here a man wyll saye, Ergo, than are we ruled, and ^{who are the} chyldren of
we do not rule. I answer. Thou bothe rulest, and arte ruled, but ^{Gods}
than dost thou well rule, yf thou be ruled of the good spirite. Sequit.
Titterly, yf thou wante the spirite of God, thou canste do no good, ^{without the}
thou dost truely without his helpe, by thy freewyll, but it is but euill ^{spirite of god}
done. Unto that is thy wyll apte, whiche is called free, and by euill ^{we can do no}
doyng, is we made a dampnable bonde seruant. Whan I say, ^{good thinge,}
out the helpe of God, thou doste nothyng, I vnderstande by it, no
good thyng, for to do euill, thou hast freewyll, without the helpe of
God, though be that be no fredome. Sequitur. Wherefore you shall
knowe, that so do you goodnes, yf the helper spirite be your guyder,
the which, yf it be absent, ye can do no good at al, &c. We thinke this
sayinge is sufficient, yf men wolde beleue. August. Marke, howe
he saythe, without the spirite of God, we lye in synne, let our spirite
to the beste he can. For they be not the chyldren of God, that lyue
after theyr owne spirite, & are guyded after theyr owne spirite, but
after the spirite of God. For our spirite can do no good at all, but
euill, yf the spirite do not leade hym. Where is nowe our bonum
studium? our bonus conatus, & applicatio ad bonum? For our spi-
rite can do nothyng but euill, and is of hym selfe, but a dampnable
seruant. What good can a dampnable seruant do of hym selfe? So
that here it is openly proued, that the freewyll of man, of his owne
strength, and of his owne power, can do nothyng but synne.
But nowe cometh the dampnable reason, and selfely wyledome,
and wyll dispute, and say: yf our freewyll can do no goodnes, what
nede God to commaunde so many good thynges? what nede God to
gyue those commaundementes, that he knoweth well be impossible
for vs? And yf they be impossible, what care is in hym, & dampneth
vs for that thyng, that is impossible for vs to do? I answer,
O thou blinde, presumptuous, and dampnable reason, where haste
thou lerned of any other creature, to enquire a cause of thy matters
D.I. wyll?

thyll? or els to murmure, agaynst the ordinaunce of thy Iourney
 God? What hast thou to do to requyre a cause of his actes? he hath
 made the without thy consent, & counsell, and may he not set lawes,
 and commaundementes to rule the by, at his pleasure, without thy
 counsell? thou arte worthy of none answer, thou arte so presumptuous,
 nor there is no godly answer, that wyl satisfie the. Accuse
 theles, I wyl stoppe thy blaspheming mouth, by thyn owne wicked-
 dome, to thy great shame. I praye, this thyng must thou graunt me,
 that thy God is Essentiall goodnes, and is nothyng but goodnes.
 wherefore he can commaunde nothyng, but that is good, iuste, and
 righteous. whiche thynges, yf thou do not, or be not able to do, thy
 maker may not let his goodnes bypasse, because of thy naughtyenes,
 or for thyne vnableness. And yf thou be not able to do those good
 thynges, that he commaundeth the, there is no fault in the commauder,
 nor yet in the commaundementes. wherefore than doste thou grudge
 agaynst hym, without a cause? But yet wylste thou murmure, & say
 howe that he knoweth, howe they be impossible for the. Truthe
 that is, he knoweth it. Than wylste thou say, wherefore doth he com-
 maunde them to me? O thou presumptuous creature, if thoue suffi-
 ciently answered to the, to say, that it is his pleasure, so to commaunde.
 What couldest thou say more? What occasion haddest thou to mur-
 mure? What wronge hast thou? But I wyl go farther, thy maker
 knoweth, that they be impossible for the, he knoweth also, thy dam-
 nable and presumptuous pryde, that reckeneth howe thou canst do all
 thynges, that be good, of thyne owne strength, without any other
 helpe, And to subdew this presumptuous pryde of thyn, & to bypasse
 the to knowlege of thyn owne selfe, he hath giuen the his commaun-
 dementes, of the whiche thou canst not complayne, for they be both
 righteous, and good. And yf thou complayne, because they be im-
 possible for the, than consider thy damnable pryde, that thoughteth
 the selfe so stronge, that thou couldest do al goodnes. But what wylste
 thou nowe do? these commaundementes be giuen, and can not, nor
 shall not be chaunged, to satisfy the presumptuous pryde, wherof
 wylste thou nowe complayne? Gods commaundementes be resonable,
 they be good, they be righteous, and they be laudable. Shall all these
 thynges be destroyed, to satisfy the pryde? naye not so. But thou
 shalt rather remayne, with all thy pryde, vnder the dampnation of
 these commaundementes. What sayst thou thereto? Canst thou auoyde
 this? Canst thou save, but this is righte? Canst thou save the selfe
 from daunger? Canst thou auoyde the dampnation, by all the car-
 nall wyle-dom? Nay verely. For he that is thy aduersary is omni-
 potent. wherefore say what thou wylste, so muche it be, for it is Gods
 ordinaunce, whiche may not be chaunged. But nowe, wylste thou al be
 what

can do nothyng but hymne alwey God.

What remedy? no remedy but this only, to confesse thy weakenes, to confesse thy vyce, to knowe thy unables, to graunt, that these commaundementes be lausfull, holy, and good, and howe thou arte bounde to kepe them, and to geue laude, & praise to God for them, and to go to the mercifull maker with this confession, and to desyre hym, that he wyl helpe the, that he wyl be mercifull vnto the, that he wyl strengthen the, for thou arte to wyke, that he wyl geue the his spyrte, for the spyrte is to helpe, to fulfill these spirituall commaundementes, and doubt thou not, but thou shalt fynde hym both mercifull, and also gracious, for he gaue the these commaundementes for that currente, secretly declaringe, bothe thy vyce, and also thy weakenes, that thou myghtest seeke, and call vnto hym for helpe.

De temp. scti
iust.

This doth saynt Augustine declare well in these wordes: yf man do perceyue, that in the commaundementes, is any thyng impossible, or elles to harde, let hym not remayne in hym selfe, but let hym runne vnto God, his helper, the whiche hath geuen his commaundementes for yf intente, that our desyre mighte be flattered by, and that he myght geue helpe. &c. Marke, s. Augustyne sayth, that the commaundement; be impossible vnto our strength, but we must call to God for strenght. The Pelagians dyd recken, that they had got a great victory, whan they had made this carnall reason, yf God wolde commaunde nothyng, that was impossible, of this reason dyd they gloze, and triumphe, and thought, that they must nedes haue some naturall strength, and power to fulfill the commaundementes of God, seying that god wolde commaunde nothyng impossible to man. Of this same reason, dothe my lord of Rochester, and all his scholers gloze vnto this same day. But let vs se howe s. Augustyne answereth them. The Pelagians (saythe he) thynke, that they knowe a wonders thyng, whan they say, God wyl not commaunde that thyng, the whiche he knoweth is impossible for man to do. Every man knoweth this, but therfore doth he commaunde certeyne thynges, that we can not do, because we myght knowe, what thyng we ought to aske of hym. Sayth is the, whiche by prayer, obtayneth that thyng, that the lorde commaundeth. Brevely, he that sayth, If thou wylte, thou mayst kepe my commaundementes, In the same booke, a lytle after saythe, He shall geue me keepng in my mouth. Playne it is, that we may kepe the commaundementes, if we wyl, but because our wyl is prepared of God, of hym it must be asked, that we may so moche wyl, as wyl suffice vs to do them. Trowthe it is, that we wyl, whan we wyl, but he maketh vs to wyl that thyng, yf is good. &c. Here haue you playne, that my lord of Rochesters opinion, and the Pelagians, is all one, for they both do agree, yf the commaundementes of God, be not impossible to our naturall strength. But s. Augustyne sayth, they be impossible,

De ill. scti
cap. xvi.

Eccle. xij.
Gods commaundementes be impossible to our nature.

wherof our
good wyll co-
meth.

De congruo.

Well. arb.
cap. xvi.

The Pelagi-
ons say the
that God gy-
ueth good
lawes: & man
may kepe the
of his natu-
ral strength:
or els the co-
mandement
were frustra-

liti. sent. dist.
xiiij. quest. ii.

And therfore be they giuen, that we shoulde knowe our weakenes, and also of the strength to fulfill them. For sayth by prayer, with obteyne strength, to fulfill, the impossible commaundementes of the lawe. Here haue you also, that god moueth vs, and causeth vs to be good wyllers, and giueth vs a good wyll, for elles we wolde neuer wyll, but euyl. Here is also to be noted, that the Pelagions, & our Duns men, agre all in one, for they bothe say, that the grace of God dothe helpe mans good purpose, so that man dothe fyrste intende, and purpose well. And as Duns saythe, disposeth hym selfe by attrition to receyue grace, and than God dothe helpe hym. But the trouble is contrarie, for there is no good purpose in man, no good disposition, nor good intent, but all is agaynst goodnes, & clene contrary agaynst all thyng, that agreeth with grace, till that God of his merite mercy cometh, and giueth grace, and chaungeth a mans wyll into grace, and giueth hym wyll, to wyll goodnes, yea, and þo whan he thought nothyng of goodnes, but doth clerely resist all goodnes. This doth f. Augustyne proue in these wordes. The Pelagions saye, that they graunt, howe that grace dothe helpe every mans good purpose, but not that he giueth þe loue of vertue to hym, that stryuet agaynst it. This thyng do they say, as though man of hym selfe, without the helpe of god, hath a good purpose, & a good mynde into true, by the which merite preceedyng afore, he is worthy to be holpen of the grace of God, that foloweth after. Doubtles, þe grace that foloweth, doth helpe the good purpose of man, but the good purpose, shoulde neuer haue ben, yf grace had not preceeded. And though þe good studye of man, whan it beginneth, is holpen of grace, yet dyd it neuer begyn without grace. &c. Here it is open, that the Pelagions graunt as moche of grace, as my lord of Rochester dothe, & all his Duns men, whiche lerneth, that man may haue a good purpose, bonū studium, and a good mynde, & a loue to grace, of his owne natural strength, the Pelagions graunt euen the same. But here you se, howe saynt Augustyne is clere agaynst them. But nowe let vs here H. Duns wordes. A synner may by the naturall, and by the comen influence of God, consyder his synnes, as a thyng, that hath offended God, and as a thyng contrary to the lawe of God, and letteth hym from reward, and byngeth hym to payne, and by this meanes may be hate, and abboyre his synne, this calleth be attrition, whereby there is a disposition (sayth he) or a merite in a man of congruence, to take away mortall synne, & this attrition is sufficient for a man, that shall receyue the sacramentes, et quod non ponat obstem, that is, that he haue no mortall synne actually in his wyll, this is sufficient, and also a necessary way to receyue grace. &c. This is tenne tymes worse than the Pelagions sayynges, for they graunt, that man must nedes haue a

hane a speciall grace, to performe his good purpose. And **M. Duns** saythe, that man may performe his attricion, of his naturall power, yea, and this attricion of congruence, is a disposicion to take away mortall synne, without any speciall grace. I pray you **M. Duns**, of what congruence is it? What hath attricion deserued, that mortall synne shulde be taken away for his pleasure? What hath he deserued, that grace muste folowe hym? Infidels may haue this attricion (for you graunt, that it cometh of naturall strengthe) and yet shall it not folowe of congruence, that they must receiue grace, and also remission of theyr synnes? Also had not Judas this attricion, when he sayde, I haue sinned? and was soze for his synne, and also repented hym? and kneloe well, that he had offended God, and also deserued payne? and was no more wyllyng (I thynke) so to do, and had all the properties, that belongeth to your attricion, and yet se, howe he dyd deserue of congruence grace, and remission of his synnes. yea, dyd not this attricion, bringe hym to extreme disperacion? How can a man without a speciall grace, abhorre his synne? It is not possible, but he muste loue synne, so longe as he is the enemye of God, yf he wolde there were no God, to punyssh the synne, suche a pleasure hath he vnto synne. This is the nature of our hertes, and that with every one of vs sele, though these men teacheth the contrary, but I say to them the wordes of the pphete, redite ad cor preuicatoroz, grope in your bosoms, and there fynde you the mortall enemye of God, which neyther careth for gods displeasure, nor yet for his synne. And you that he may haue a good attricion, of his naturall strengthe, and this attricion be good, than may he do good afoze grace, so that we shall gather grapes of thornes, & sygges of byers. But what sayth **S. Paule** to your good attricion? He saythe, that all thyng without saythe, is nothinge. Is not this man a fleshely man? and hath nothinge of the spirite of God (for by your owne leernyng, he hath but the comen influence) and yet shall he be soze, that he hath offended God? Shall he abhorre his synne? Shall he depose hym selfe of congruence to grace? **S. Paule** saythe, The fleshe lusteth contrary to the spirite, and the workes of the fleshe, be aduoultry, fornicacion, vncleennes, ydolatre, wythchecraft, hatred, wrath, yele, sedicion, enuyng, with suche other. I pray you, howe do these workes agree with your attricion? Call you this abhorryng of synne? Call you this heynnes, for offendyng God? Be these good disposicions? Be these our good preparacions vnto God? Thynke you, & these workes, to deserue of congruence remission of mortall synne? These be the best workes, that a synner hath in his herte, or elles **S. Paule** lyeth. Wherefore it is not possible, but he must haue in his wyl, actual synne, for he can wyl nothing but synne. And therefore, if he receiue

Rom. xii.

the sacramentes with this attricion, he receyuech them to his damp-
nation. For afore grace, he is an viter enemye to God, and to all his
sacramentes. Wherefore God muste of his mere mercy, mollifye his
herte, and gyue hym grace to wyll goodnes, or elles he can neuer do
it, nor yet desyre it. As S. Augustine dothe declare in these wordes.

De gradibz.
cap. viij.

grace findeth
our hartes
strong.

Meritum de
congruo.

Sine fine
possibile est
placere deo.

The grace, whiche is gyuen of the largenes of God, pruely in to
mens hartes, can not be dispised of no maner of harde herte. For
therefore it is gyuen, that the hardnes of the herte shoulde be taken a-
way. Wherefore when the father is herde within, and dothe lerne,
that we muste come to his sonne, Than taketh he awaye our stony
herte, and gyueth vs a fleschely herte. And by this meanes, he maketh
vs the chyldren of promyse, and the vessels of mercy, whiche he hath
prepared to glorie. But wherefore doth he not lerne all men to come
to Christ? Because that those, that he lethern, he lethern of mercy,
and those, that he lethern not, of his iudgement dothe he not lerne
them. sc. Marke, that S. Augustine saythe, That there is no hard-
nes of herte, that can resyst grace. And Duns sayth, That ther may
be an obstacle in mans herte saynte Augustyne saythe, that grace
fyndeth the herte in hardnes, and obliuacy. And Duns sayth, that
there is a mollifyenge, & precebeth grace, which he calleth attricion.
S. Augustine sayth, when the father lethern vs within, than taketh
he awaye our stony hartes. And Duns sayth, that we can do it by the
comon naturall influence, & is, we can dispose our selfe of congruence.
Marke also, howe all men, be not taughte to come to Christ, but al-
onely they, that be taught, of mercy be taught: and yf it be of mercy,
than it is not of congruence by attricion. Brevely, a greater hertely,
more contrary to Christ, and his blessed worde, can no man lerne,
and yet muste be taken for a great clerke, and a subtile witour,
because he pleasech the fleshe. But shortly, here haue I openly pro-
ued by inuincible scriptures, and by witours of great authority, that
fretfull of his naturall strenght, without a speciall grace, can do no-
thyng, but abyde in synne. Sayne, inuente, excogitate, and dreame,
as many holy purposes as we can, as many subtyll distinctions, as
many good attricions, as many good applications, and all they be
but synne, tyll grace come, yea our slepyng, our eatyng, our dryn-
kyng, our almes, our prayers, our spyng, our ryng, our
confessyng, our mumblng, our mourtng, our waylyng. Brevely,
all that we can do, is but hypocryse, and double synne afore God,
tyll the tyme, that he of his mercy cholet vs. For as he sayth, you
haue not cholen me, but I haue cholen you.

Howe wyll I declare a scripture or two, that men byng to proue
our conatum, and our bonum studium. The fyrst place is this.
God, from the begynnynge vpd ordeyne man, and letre hym in the
handes

handes of his owne counsell, he dyd geue hym his commaundementes, and his preceptes, yf thou wylte kepe the commaundementes, and also kepe peasable saythe, for euer they shall kepe the. I haue sette afore the water, and fyre, stretch thy hande to whiche thou wylte. Of this place is gathered, that man may haue a good intent, a good mynde, to applye hym selfe to God of his naturall power. But this can not be proued of this texte. For there is neuer a worde of intendinge, of studyenge, or of applyenge wyl. For yf we wyl take the wordes of the texte, as they sounde, they rather proue, that we may kepe the commaundementes of God, yea, and also beleue in God, than any other thyng, the whiche, I am sure, no man wyl graunte. For than howe coulde men auoyde, but that the philosophers be saued? For no man can deny, but that they dyd asmoche, as lay in theyr naturall power to come to God? Moreover, the Pelagians bynge this texte, to proue, that man may do good of his naturall strength. Howe, howe wyl we auoyde them? For yf we denye, that it puetly theyr opinion (for the whiche the wordes sounde mooste) than wyl they denye, that it proueth our conatum, and our bonum studium, of the whiche, the texte speaketh neuer a worde. Wherefore this texte maketh neither for them, nor yet for you. Playne it is, that þ wordes of the texte, sounde of heppinge, and of beleuyng, yf we wyl, and not of intending, nor of studyeng. Wherefore it maketh not for your purpose. But let vs go to þ texte, God from the begynnyng dyd make man, These wordes be open of the creation, of the fyrrste man. He sette hym in the handes of his owne counsell, These wordes, make nothyng for freewill, for here is nothyng commaunded hym to do, but alonely here is signified, that man is made lord ouer all inferior creatures, to vse them, at his pleasure, as it is open. Genesis. 2. wher that all thynges were brought afore Adam, to receyue theyr names, signifieng, that they were all sette vnto his vse, and to his wyl, and he was lord ouer them all, and none ouer hym. This was his kyngedome, in the whiche he dyd regne, and gouerne all thynges after his commaundementes, but yet was it by the generall influence, gyven hym fyrrste of God: He dyd adde his commaundementes, and his preceptes. In these wordes is there no power gyven vnto hym, but here be gyven hym commaundementes, wherby he muste be ordered, and ruled. And not rule after his owne counsell, but after the counsell, & commaundementes of God. Wherefore by these commaundementes, was there parte of his free domination, and lordeshyp, that he had ouer the inferior thynges, taken awaye, as where God commaunded hym, that he shoulde not eate of the Tree of knowledge, whiche of good, and euill. Howe was it not free for hym to vse this tree after his owne wyl, but after the commaundement of God, and what

Eccl. 1. 1

man lord
of all.

man bound
on restreyned

Freewyll of her owne strengthe

and what power he had, by his freewyll, to kepe this commandment, the effecte dyd declare. If thou wylte kepe the commaundementes. Here begynnerth the doubt. But yet of these wordes can you not gather, that he had power to kepe them, nor yet that he myghte intende to kepe them. For it foloweth not, yf thou wylte, ergo, thou mayste, or thou mayst intende, As it foloweth not, yf I wolde, ergo, I coulde depose you, for you wyl let this consequent. Also you haue a generall rule, *Condicionalis nihil ponit*. Wherefore these wordes, yf thou wylte kepe the commaundementes, giveth no power, nor strength to freewyll. But this alonely foloweth of this texte, yf man wyl kepe the commaundementes, than they shall kepe hym. But now, where shall he haue this wyl? that is not in his power. But loke of saynt Augustyne aboue recited, and there shall you fynde, howe man cometh by this wyl. Also the wordes of the texte be not, yf thou wylte, thou mayste kepe them, or intende to kepe them. For they be not, Man may kepe them, or intende, yf he wyl. But yf thou wylte kepe them, than they shall kepe the. Wherefore of these wordes, can you not conclude any power in man. For it foloweth not, when God saythe, do this, here this, here that, kepe this, kepe that, yf thou wylte do this, yf thou wylt do þ, That we can do these thyngs, or can intende to do them. For God commaundeth vs to do all good thyngs, ergo, we be able of our naturall strengthe to do them? Than were the spirite of God feareful, for the spirite of God is not gyven vs, to gyue commaundementes, but for to gyue vs strengthe, to fulfill, and ryghtously to vnderstande those thynges, that be commaunded vs. By the commaundementes, is declared that thyng, that we ought to do, and also they shewe our weykenes, & imbecillite, that we myghte lerne to seke for a greater strengthe, and greater helpe, than is in vs. As s. Augustyne saythe, in these wordes. The lawe was gyven, that man myghte fynde hym selfe, and not to make his syknes hole, but by his preachynge, the syknes increased, the physicion myghte be soughte. Wherefore the lawe thretynng, and not fulfillyng þ thyng, that he commaundeth, maketh a man to be vnderneath hym, but the lawe is good, yf a man do vse it well. What is that, vse the lawe well? By the lawe, to knowe our syknes, and to seke Gods helpe, to helpe our helthe. &c. Here is it playne, that the commaundementes of God, gyue vs no strengthe, nor yet declare any strengthe to be in vs, but sheweth vs our detye, and also our weykenes, and also moueth vs, and causeth vs to seke further for strengthe. So that these wordes, si volueris, si feceris, si audieris, si emundaueris, si vis, with all other suche, that be wordes of commaundementes, or wordes vnder a condicion, do nothyng declare, but what we are bounde to do, and what shall folowe, yf we do them. And as the wordes of the lawe

August. de li.
arb. cap. xvi.

Aug. de hb.
apost. s. xij.

wherefore the
lawe was
gyuen.

do nothing but synne afore God.

lathe do synne, and enenll ende for synne, alonely for to fere euyl doers, and to p[re]serue good men from euyl, so do the wordes of promyse quere vp, and quicken good mens hertes, for to do well, and also conforthe them, that they shulde not dyspayre, in aduersities, But neyther these, nor those geue vs any strength, to do that that is comaunded, but alonely they do declare, what paynes, & what rewarde shall folowe to the breakers, and the keepers of them.

A nother scripture haue you, where as our mayster Christ saythe, Howe often wolde I haue gathered thy chyldren, and thou woldest not? Here seye you, liberu arbitriu. li. arb. For yf they had no freewyll, what nede our mayster to say, thou woldest not? For we muste consider, & there are two maner of wylls in God, One is called his Godly wyll, or his secrete or vnsrutable wyll, wherby that all thynges be made, and ordered, and all thynges be done. Of this wyll no creature hath knowlege what he ought thereby to do, or not to do, for as I Paule saythe, it is inscrutable, and therefore it is sufficient for vs, to knowe therof alonely, that there is an inscrutable wyll. The other wyll in God, is called a declared, and a manifested wyll, the whiche is declared, and giuen to vs in holy scriptures. This wyll was shewyd vnto vs to the bittermoste by our S^r. Christ, the sonne of God, and therefore is it sauful, and also men are bounde to serche, to knowe this wyll, and for that consideration, was it manifested vnto vs. This wyll both declare what euery man is bounde to do, and what euery man is bounde to flee, And by this wyll is offered vnto euery man, those thynges, & be of saluation, And by this wyll God wyll haue no man dāpned, for he letteth his worde be preached indifferently to all men. Howe be that wyll knowe this wyll, muste go to our mayster Christ, in whom as I Paule sayth, is all treasures of wysedome, and science. So that he wyll shewe vs as moche as is necessary for vs to knowe, and as moche as the father of heuen wolde we shulde knowe. Howe to the texte, here spekerh God, that is incarnated, that was sent to wyll, to speake, to do, to preache, to be familiar with vs, to do myracles, yea, and also to suffer dethe for our saluation. Howe saythe he, I wolde haue gathered thy chyldren, that is to say, I dyd preache, I dyd labour, with all diligence to conuerthe the, I dyd myracles afore the, yea, I wepte, I weyled for thy sake, all these thynges dyd I, with all other thynges, that myght be to thy conuersion, and that belonged to God incarnate to do. But all these thynges dyd not profyte them. And why? Bicause they wolde not. In hym was there no faute. For there was nothyng undone, that belonged to hym to do, so that he was wyllynge, and yet dyd it not profyte Ierusalem. And why? Bicause they wolde not. But now, why wolde they not? Bicause it was in therr power, to

Math. xxiij.

Two wylls in God.

Scutis. ij.

Howe Christ willed to save the iewe.

Johan. xi.

Magist. sent.
iii. ii.

It was not in
their handes
to chaunge
their will.

Wyll, to consent? and to wyll, not to consent. Nay truly. But because
as Johan saythe, They coude not beleue, for he had blinded their
eyes, and hardened their hertes, that they wolde not be with their
eyes, nor vnderstande with their hertes, so that they must needs
alone wyll, not to consent, and coude no other wyse do, but not
consent; and yet were they neither constrained, nor compelled, nor
wrounge to it by violence, but freely they wolde not consent, and yet
had they the libertie of their freewyll, that was to be agaynst Chyl,
and not to be with hym. For the libertie of freewyll standeth not in
this, that he may wyll this thyng, and also wyll the contrary therof.
But it standeth in that, that all thyng that he wyll, or wyll not, is
at his owne wyll, and is not therto constrained, but wylleth it frely
without any compulsion, and yet he can not chose, no nor wyll not
chose, but so to wyll, or so not to wyll. So that there is a necessity
immutable, but not a necessity of compulsion, or coaction. Nowe
is it open, & this place maketh not for you, for there was no power,
nor none currente in their freewyll, to consent vnto Chyl, but to wyll
the contrary, & not to wyll vnto hym, and all was because they were
blinded, and their hertes were hardened. And therefore of their man-
full strenght, coude they none other wyse do, but dary from Chyl,
no, they wolde, nor despyed no other wyse, but to swaue from hym,
that was all their wyll, & despyte. But wherfore they were blinded,
and wherfore they were hardened, that muste you inquire of the in-
scrutable wyll, & pleased hym so to leaue them. The cause therof, I
am sure he can tell you, if he wolde, I am sure it is eyghenwylese woe,
that is ynoughe for me. But nowe cometh the blinde, and steeple
reason, and murmureth at this, and asketh, why are we condemned
for this? why dothe God punyssh vs for this? I praynge we can wyll
none other wyse? Also he blyndeth vs, he maketh out hertes harde,
that we can not amende vs, and it lyeth not in our power without
his wyll. Nowe, why complayneth he of vs? why layeth he it to our
charge? There is nothyng done but his wyll, we be but instrumentes
of his wyll? And yet we do not well, why gructh he vs not strenght
to do better? Thou dāpnable reason, who can satisfie the? Whiche
rekenest nothyng to be well done, but that thou doste, and that is
done with thy counsell? Thyngest thou not, that thou arte good, and
perfitte in thyn owne nature? and all that is in the, is both well, and
eyghenwylese made? To this, thou wylste answer, yea, for thou wylt
not condempne thy selfe, nor nothyng that is thyn. But nowe an-
swere me to this, what hath made the so well? and gauen & all thy
eyghenwylenes? & all this goodnes & thou hast? thou must needs say,
God? But what was the cause, that thou arte so well? so eyght-
wyle? and so good made? I praynge, that thou deservest nothyng.
Yea, and

can do nothing but synne afore God.

Yea, and all these thynges, be done so well, & so rightously, that thou canst not complayne, nor amende them; no, nor yet deuile whiche may amende them. Nowe, why dost thou not murmur agaynst God? Seynge, that all thynges is done without thy knowledge; and also without thy deseruynge? why dost thou not inquire a cause of hym? why murmured thou not, & he hath made the so good, and so rightfull? Seynge thou haddest nothinge deserued? But here wylte thou graunt, that God dyd all thyng for the best, why dost thou not like wyle in other thynges? Furthermore, thou must nedes graunt, that God thy maker, and the gouernour of all thynges, is moule wyle, make rightwyle, and most mercyfull; and so wyle, that nothinge that he dothe, can be amended; so rightwyle, that there can be no inspection in hym, of any rightwylenes; so mercyfull is he, that he can do nothing without mercy. Nowe thynekst thou, wylt thou graunt these thynges of thy maker? Thou must nedes graunte them. Nowe compare vnto this rule, thy blyndnes, that is within the, thy induration, that is in the, thy peruerse wylle towards goodnes, and what cause hast thou to complayne? Thou hast graunted, & he dothe all thynges rightously: ergo, thou hast no wronge? He dothe all thynges mercyfully; ergo, thou arte in thy blyndnes, & in thy hardnes, better increased than thou hast deserued. Moreover, thou beleeuest, that God is rightwyle, that God is wyle, and that God is mercyfull. Nowe sayth he of those thynges, that do not appere, nor what can be proued by exterior causes. Holde the fast to this saythe, than all thy fleshely reasons be aloyed. For when God sauereth to some men, and dampneth to many, and thou knowest no cause why, yet muste thou beleue, that he is mercyfull and rightwyle. This is saythe, whiche yf it coulde be proued by exterior causes, than were it no neede to beleue it. Nowe, yf thou beleue, & he is mercyfull, good, and righteous vnto the, wherfore murmured thou? But yet holdest thou knowe wherfore he indurateth the, and blyndeth the, & giveth the no grace to amende, and vnto thy brother, that hath no better deserued than thou hast; yea, he hath lyke wyle euill deserued as thou hast, and yet he giveth hym grace, and taketh away his hardnes, & giveth hym a wylle, to wylle all goodnes. This is not indifferently done as thou thynekst.

Yf thou say, I say to the, thou hast no cause to complayne, for thou hast no wronge, thou hast all thyng, that is thyne, and nothing is taken from the, that belongeth to the, why dost thou complayne of this right? Yea, but yet sayst thou, that he giveth the one mercy, and giveth the other none. I answer, what is & to the? is not his mercy his owne? Is it not laudfull to hym to give it to whom he wylle? Is the he euill, because he is good? Take that, that is thyne, and go

Rom. ix.

God hath no
delight in our
damnatioScotus .i. f.
vii. xli.

Bonaventure.

Iacob & Esau.

Meritum de
congruo.

the way. For if it be his will to shewe his wrathe, and to make his
 potest knowe, ouer the vessels of wrathe, ordered to damnation,
 and to declare the riches of his glory, vnto vessels of mercy, whiche
 he hath prepared, and elected vnto glory, what hast thou therewith
 to do? What cause haile thou therof to complayne? It is the will of
 God, whiche can not be, but well, and reasonable, & whiche (as thou
 sayst) thou beleuest. Wherefore leue of thy murmurynge, and thy
 disputacion agaynst God, and rechen, that he is of his nature mer-
 ciful, and hath no delite, nor no pleasure in thy damnation, but be-
 leue thou stedfastly, that yf he shewe his mercy but vnto one man in
 all the worlde, that thou shalt be that same one man, and thoughe
 an angell wolde make the beleue, that all the worlde shoulde be dap-
 ned, yet stycke thou fast to his mercy, and to his iustice, that iustifieth
 the, and beleue, that the swete bloude of his blessed sonne, can not be
 shedde in vayne, but it muste nedes iustifie spinners, and so many as
 stycke faste vnto it, thoughe they be neuer so blinded, and neuer so
 hardned, for it was shedd alonly for them. Yf thou canst thus satisfie
 thy selfe, than dost thou well, and thou art wubles out of isoperdie.
 Yf thou wylte not be content, but wylte dispute, and inqurye causes
 of Gods inscrutable will, than wyl I stande by, and loke on, and
 se what bitterdome thou shalt get. I doubte not, but it wyl repent
 the, & that he wyl conclude with the, on this maner. May not I do
 what I wyl? Howe here haue I answered, to a intractable doubt,
 that our scholemen are wrapped in, whiche wolde knowe, what is
 the cause of predestination, & of reprobacion. Duns being wrapped
 betwene carnall reason, and inuincible scriptures of saynt Paule,
 can not tel, whether he may graunt, that the will of God is alonly
 the cause of election, or elles any merites of man precepyng afoze: he
 concludeth, that bothe the opinions may be defended. Bonauenture
 blindly concludeth, that there may be a cause precepyng grace to de-
 serue it. So that in these vnfutfull questions, whiche engender no-
 thyng but contencion, haue they spent all theyr lyues, and for these
 thynges be giuen vnto them peculyer names, as subtyll, and scra-
 phycall, and irrefragable doctours. But agaynst them al, I set saynt
 Paule, whiche toke inrollerable labours, to proue by inuincible scrip-
 tures, and examptes therof, that there was no cause but alonly the
 will of God. And to proue this, he bringeth in an euident exampte
 of Iacob and Esau, howe Iacob was elected, and Esau reprobod,
 afore they were borne, and afore they had done, cyther good, or bad.
 Can there be a plainer exampte? What meaneth Paule in these wordes;
 whan they were herther borne, nor had done neyther good, nor
 bad, but that the election of God myght stande? Dost he not cleerly
 take away all maner of merites, bothe de congruo, and also de con-
 digno?

can do nothyng but synne afoze God.

digno? a declare the will of God to be cause only? But here wyll
subtyll dyuynnes say, that God sawe afoze, y^e Jacob shulde do good,
and therefore dyd he chole hym. He sawe also, that Esau shuld do no
good, and therefore he repelled hym. Alas for byndenes, what wyll
you iudge of that, that God sawe? howe knowe we that God sawe
that? And yf he sawe it, yet howe knowe we, that that was cause
of Jacobs election? These chyldren be ynborne, and they haue done
neither good, nor bad, and yet one of them is holier, and the other
is refused. Saynt Paule knoweth none other cause, but the will of
God, and wyll you discusse an other? And where you say, that God
dyd se afoze, that one of them shulde do good, I pray you, what was
the cause? or wherby sawe he, y^e he shulde do good? you must needs
say, by that, that he wolde gyue hym his grace, c^otra, the will of God
is yet the cause of election, for bicause that God wolde gyue hym his
grace. Therefore God sawe, that he shulde do good, and so shulde also
the other haue done, if God wolde haue gyuen hym that same grace.
wherefore you graunteth, that wyll subdue heuen, & e^uer, leaue your
serchyng of this cause, and be contente with the will of God, and
doubte not, but the will of God, is as ryght wyse, and as iust all a
cause, as your merites can be. And doubte you not, but I Paule (that
toke so great labours in this matter) dyd se as farr in mans deser-
uynge, as we can do: and yet he concluded with these wordes of scrip-
tures, I wyll shewe mercy, to whom I shewe mercy: I wyll haue
compassion, of whom I haue compassion. So lyeth it not in mans
will, or cunnyng, but in the mercy of God. Delaye he not, I wyll
haue mercy on hym, y^e I se shall do good? But I wyll shewe mercy,
to whom I wyll. He sayth not, I wyll haue compassion of hym, that
shall deserue it be congruo? But of hym, of whom I wyll haue com-
passion. This doth I. August. well p^{ro}ue in these wordes: The dispu-
tation of them is vayne, the whiche to defende, the prescience of God,
agaynst the grace of God, and therefore say, that we were chosen a-
foze the makinge of the worlde, bicause that God knewe afoze that
we shulde be good, not bicause he shulde make vs good. But he that
saythe, you haue not chosen me, saythe not that. For yf he dyd ther-
fore chole vs, bicause y^e he knewe afoze, that we shulde be good, than
muste he also knowe afoze, that we shulde first haue chosen hym? &c.
Here is it playne, y^e the election of God is not, bicause he sawe afoze,
that we shulde do well, but alonely the cause of the election, is his
mere mercye, and the cause of our wynging well, is his election. And
therefore saynt Paule saythe, not of workes, but of callinge.

Two chyldre
be ynborne,

Rom. ix.

Gods mercy
to cause only
of our salua-
cion.

August. sup
Iosannem
tract. lxxviii.

nowe go to you subtyll Duns men, with all your carnall reasons,
and seeke out a cause of his secreete will. yf you dyd beleue, that he
were good, ryght wyse, and mercyfull, it were a great confort for you,
that the

God is merciful.

mans good intent to save hym selfe.

Ouyghe in penarcon.
Glos. Rom. v.
Hieron. super
Isaiam.

whiche be
sewe men.

that the election stode alonely by his wyll, for so were you sure, that it shulde be bothe ryghtwysely done, & also mercifully, but you have no saythe, and therefore muste you nedes mistrust God, and of that, fall you to inuent causes of election of your owne strength. As one shulde say, Bicause God wyl not of his ryghtwysnes, or of his mercy chose vs, we wyll be sure, that we shall be elected. For first wyll we inuent, that the election cometh of deservyng, and than wyll we also bycine certeyne workes, that shall therunto be appoynted of vs, and those wyll we do at our pleasure, so that the election, and reprobacion, shall stande all in your handes, let God do what that pleaserh hym. But nowe bicause there be certayne open places of scripture, & geue onely the cause to God, alonely of election, and also of reprobacion, therefore are these men sore troubled, and can tell no nother remedy, but alonely to studye, howe they may byrynge, and dresse the open scriptures, to the foytfeinge of theyr errour, and to the satisfysing of theyr carnall reason, so that wher the holy ghost saythe, I wyll obdurate the herte of Pharo, they wyll take vpon them, to lerne, and to teache the holy ghoste to speake better, and to say of this maner: I wyll suffice Pharo to be indurated, but I wyll not do it, but my easynes, my softenes, wherby that I shall suffice hym, shall byrynge o- ther men to repentaunce, but Pharo shall it make more obstinate in malysce. So that God dothe indurate (as you saye) whan he dothe not chastice a synner, but sheweth softenes, and easyness, & sufferance to hym. He is merciful, whan he doth call a synner to repentance by affliction, and scourgyng. So that induracion after your exposi- tion, is nothyng els, but for to suffice yuell by softenes, & by goodnes. To haue mercy, is nothig els, but to correcte, to scourge, & to punishe men for theyr synnes. This is the exposition of induracion, after C. Hierome, and after your comen glose, C. Hieroms wordes be these: God doth indurate, whan he doth not by and by calligat a synner. He hath mercy, whan he dothe call a synner by and by vnto repen- taunce, by afflictions, &c. This is auctorite ynough, as you counke, what shulde you seeche any forther? Wyd not these men vnderstande scripture? Is not this exposition playne? This taketh away all in- conveniencies? By this exposition, God is not the auctor of yuell? This is a clerkely exposition? Breuely, this muste nedes be the true exposition. Wherfore it were better for you, to erre with C. Hierome, and with your olde scholemen, than for to say true with these newe heretikes, so call you all them, that wyll reprove olde errours. Nowe haue you well defended the matter. Nowe is your cause well proued. Nowe must the holy gost chaunge his wordes. For he hath newe scholemaysters. And wher he was wont to say, I haue harde and Pharos herte. Nowe muste he say, Pharo hath hardened hym selfe, by

can do nothyng but spynne afoze God.

selfe, by my softenes, and by my easynes, but I haue not done it. But yet I praye you, howe wolde you satisfise a wepke conscience? that lykes faste to the worde of God, and reckeneth that the holy ghost knoweth well what he shall speake, and wyll speake nothyng without a great cause, but þ that he speaketh, shalbe so well spoken, that you can not amende it? Howe thynke you? is it sufficient to say to this pooze man, I. Hierome, and all scholemen say so? holde thou thy peace, be thou content with their expositions, serche thou no further, if dothe not become the to knowe it? But nowe, if he wyll laye to your charge, that this thyng is openly wyrtten in scripture, & the wordes of Moyses, and of Paule be playne, therefore you muste answer to them. And it shall be as lausfull, and as necessary for hym to knowe the mynde of holy scripture, as the exposition of I. Hierome, or of A. Duns. Scripture sayth playnly, that God dothe indurate Pharos herte, & not Pharo his owne herte. It is a newe grammer, to say, I wyll indurate Pharos herte, & shall be as moche, as Pharo shall indurate hym selfe thowthe my softenes, and paxence. By this rule shall Amarakoyas philosophye come in place, that shall make of every thyng, what we wyll. And where as scripture saythe, Saul, Saul, why dost thou persecute me? Shall be asmoche to say, as why sufferest thou me to be persecuted. Also the father of heuen, sent his onely sonne in to the worlde, shall be as moche to say, as he suffered his sonne to be sente. So that we shall expounde all places of scripture, to our owne purpose, and not to loke what is the sentence of holy scripture, nor yet what the mynde of the holy gost is: but what exposition wyll please vs best, & what wyll best serue, to our carnall mynde. Forthermoze, if God do harden mennes hertes, whan he suffereth, and whan he is softe, & sheweth mercy: than dyd he harden the hertes of the iewes, whan he broughte them out of Egypte in to wyldernes: than dyd he harden them, whan he broughte them out of the captiuite of Babylon, than haedeneth he all the worlde, whom he suffereth in great softnes, and mercy. Also after your exposition, he was mercifull to Israel, whan he sent them in to Babylon. For there dyd he chasten them, & by afflictions prouoked them to repentance. Wherefore the father of heuen had no mercy on the worlde, whan he sente his sonne, for of that he gaue men an occasion of induration. But whan he dampneth the synners, than by your rule hath he mercy on them, for he chasteneth, & punyssheth them for theyr synnes. This is your rule of induration, & no man may say agaynst it. Mercere may not signifie to geue grace, nor to remytte synne, but to chastice, and to scourge, & by paynes prouoke to repentance. And indurate, shall not signifie to harden, but to suffer, and to be patient, and to be mercifull, and not to charyce.

But

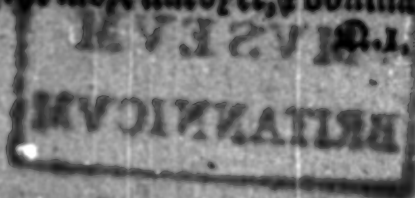
But maysters, howe was God mercifull vnto Pharo, by softenes;
and by sufferance, whom he chastened so sore, with ten plagues, and
with suche plagues, as Moses merueyled of? Call you that softnes?
was that sufferng of Pharo? was that an occasion of induration?
by patience? easines? and by sufferance? God sende his aduersaries
of that patience, and of that sufferance. I pray you, howe coulde
God chastise hym more? and yet at euery plague, he sayth: I will in-
durate Pharos herte. Wherefore Pharo had none occasion of indu-
ration, by sufferance, & patience of God, but rather by his scorpyng.
Wherefore there muste be an other sence in these wordes, than you do
make, and we muste seeke out an other wayes to knowe, howe God
dothe worke induration in mennes hartes (suche wordes dothe the
holy gost vte, therefore dare we speake them.) And howe he is the doer
bothe of good, & euill; and yet all thyngs that he doth, is well done.
Fyrste, you muste nedes graunt, that after the fall of Adam, the pure
nature of man was corrupted by synne, whereby, we be all wycked,
and borne (as Paule saythe) by nature, the chyldren of wyche, and
as Dauid saythe, we are all conceived in synne. Notwithstanding,
of this corrupted nature, dothe God make all men, bothe good, and
bad. Those that be good, be good by his grace. Those that be bad,
be bad of corrupted nature, and yet God hath made them. Fewer
theles, by nature they are of the same goodnes, and no better, than
nature is, that is to saye, euill; but yet the creation of God, and his
workmanship is good, though the thyng be euill in it selfe, yet in
Gods worke afore hym selfe good, though all the worlde say naye.
Howe God of his infinite power doth rule, and gyde all maner of
men, bothe good, and badde, and all men by his infinite power, are
moued vnto operations, but euery man after his nature. As after
your owne philosophy, Pyrrhyn mobile, by the reason of his swete
mouyon, carpeeth at the inferior thynges with hym, and suffereth no-
thyng to be unmoued: notwithstanding, he moueth all thyngs after
theyr owne naturall course. So lyke wyse God of his infinite po-
wer letteth nothyng to be exempted from hym, but all thynges to be
subiecte vnto his action, and nothyng can be done by them, but by
his principall motion: so that he worketh in all maner of thynges,
that be eyther good, or bad, not chaunginge theyr nature, but mo-
uyng them alonely to worke after theyr nature: so that God wor-
keth good, and euill; worketh euill, and God vseth them bothe as
instruments, & yet both be nothyng euill, but euill be done alonely
thorow the euill man, God working by hym (but not euill) as by
an instrument. Take an example. A man dothe sawe a blocke with
an euill sawe. The whiche is nothyng apte for to cut well, and yet
muste it nedes cut at the mouyng of the man, though it be neuer so
euill.

Howe God
indurateth.

Eph. 1.

euill, for the man in mounge, dothe not chaunge the nature of the
lawe. Nevertheless, the action of the man is good, and conynge
done, but the cutting of the lawe, is after his nature. So if the
God moueth these euill instrumentes to workynge, and by his co-
men influence gauen to all creatures, suffereth them not to be idle,
but he chaungeth not theyr nature. Wherefore theyr operacion, is a ^{Gods action} ^{is good.}
frute conuenient for theyr corrupted nature, but yet there is no faute
in Gods mounge. Here haue you now, howe God workes all
thynges, in all men, bothe good and badde. But now let vs go to
the induration of them, that be euill. Thus is it. First, they be euill
by nature, & can abyde nothing that is good, nor yet suffer any good
to be done. Wherefore when God the auctor of goodnes, dothe any
thyng, or sayth any thyng vnto them, than are they more, and more,
soer, and soer contrary vnto God, and to all his workes, for of theyr
nature they are so corrupted, and can not agre to the wyll of God,
nor to any thyng that is good, but when it is offered them eether in
worde, or dede, than blaspheme they, than withstande they with all
theyr myght, with all theyr power, than are they prouoked of theyr
corrupted nature, to more myschefe, and more, and alwayes harder,
and harder: As for an example, when the blessed worde of God is
preached vnto them, that be wythed, to whom God hath gauen no
grace to receyue it, than are they nothinge amended, but more indu-
rated, and alwayes harder, and harder. And the more the worde of
God is preached, the more obstinate are they, and the more myschefe
intende they. Than all theyr studie, than all theyr wysdome, than
all theyr labour, than all theyr myght, than all theyr power, than all
theyr crafte, and subtiltie, than all theyr frendes, that they can make
in heuen, and in erthe, is nothinge els, but to oppresse the worde of
God: yea, and they thynke all to litle, for the more it is preached, the
more they grudge, and the woder be they. After this maner was
the herte of Pharo indurated, when that the worde of God was
declared vnto hym by Moyses, and he had no grace to receyue it:
than the more that Moyses laboured in his worde, the more sturdier
was he in withstandinge of it, and all wayes harder, and harder.
This is also evidently sene in the corrupte nature of man, for the
more a thyng is forbydden hym, the more despyeth he to do it. But
what neede me to go in to Egypte to fetch an example to proue this?
Loke of myne owne countrey men, yf they be not openly indurated,
and so blinded, that no man is able to defende them, by any reason,
or law, and therefore they take them selfe to violence, and oppression,
as Pharo dyd, whiche be the righte signes, and tokens of indura-
cion. For the more the worde of God is preached, and the verite is
declared vnto them, the more sturdier, & obstinate be they agaynst it.

And all

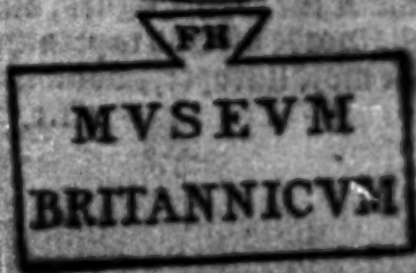


And all they: stude, all they: wyttres, all they: counsels, all they: crafte, and myschete, with all glosynges, and lpynges, and with blasphemynge of God, and his preachers, is nothyng elles, but to hepe the worde of God vnder, and to withstande that veryte, whiche they knowe in they: cōscience must nedes go forth, though all the worlde wolde say nay. And therfore wyl they here no man, nor reason with any man, but euen say as Pharō dyd, I wyl not let the people go. But yf they were not indurated, & the very enemyes vnto the verite, they wolde at the lesse wayes here they: poore betherne of charyte, and knowe what they coulde saye, and yf they coulde proue they: sayinge to be trewe: than, yf they had the loue of the veryte, as they haue but the shadowe, they wolde gyue immortall thanks to God, and with great mekenes, & with a lowe spirite, receyue the heuently veryte, and thanke they: betherne hartely, that they warned them of suche a dampnable waye, nowe in good tyme, and season.

But there is no loue to the veryte, nor yet feare of God, no, regarde to the daunger of they: soules. And why? For they be chyldren of induration, and of blasphem. And therfore the more it is preached, the more are they obstinate.

This is the very induration, that God worketh in mennes hertes, whereby they be the chyldren of darkenes.

Therefore let vs pray instantly to God, to multiplye our harde hertes, for Christes dere bloude sake. Amen.



Of Gods worde it is lawfull to prestes, that hath not
the gyfte of chastite, to mary wyues.



I haue sene, and herde in diuerse countreys, where I haue
ben, intollerable persecution agaynst prestes, that were
compelled by wephenes of nature to mary wyues, for that
intent, that they taught after Gods lawe, & mans lawe,
vse an honest conuersacion in this worlde. For the which
thyng, I say, they haue ben sore persecuted, some cast out
of theyr countrey, some drowned, some burned, and some
beheaded, summa summarum, all the cruelties that could be
exercysed agaynst them, men thoughte it to lytle.
Wherefore I, that recken my selfe a dettour, and a seruant
vnto all men, in all thynges, wherin I may ppyte them,
and specially in those thynges, that apperteyne to instru-
ction of theyr consciences, hath taken vpon me, in this cause,

The cause
that moued
hym to wyte
of this thyng

ms

to seth my lytle, and small lernynge: charitably desyringe them,
that be somthyng yet agaynst this thyng, that they wyl let them
selfe be taughte, and instructed by Gods worde, and not to set them
selfe obstinately agaynst the verite of Gods blessed worde. For our
lorde can easely beare, and suffre, an vntwylled ignoraunce, But a
peruerse malice, and a stowarde resyng of his beite, can be not
suffre, but therunto is he a mortall, & an extreme enemye. Wherefore
let men consydre, that yf this article doth stande with Gods worde,
and with Chyffes holy doctrine, that yf than they resiste, & set them
selues agaynst it, howe that they do resiste God, the whiche no man
is able to pfourme. Certayne men there be, that of a very puerse,
stowarde, and obstinate mynde, dothe set them selues agaynst this
article, and other mo. And wyl in no wyse admyt eyther reason, or
lernynge, but still remayne in theyr olde errour, that they haue con-
fayned in theyr braynes, whiche is neyther grounded in Gods holy
worde, nor yet in the holy conuersacion, or lernynge, of blessed, and
vertuous men. Vnto these men wyl I wyte nothyng, bicause I
wyl not trouble them, and bicause I wolde be loth to be coryne with
dogges teithe, or to cast perles before swyne. An other sorte of
men there be, that doth not admytte this article, by the reason that
they be ignoraunt in scriptures, and knowe not the very grounde
therof, but alowly are ledde by an olde custome, that they haue ben
brought vp in. Yet neuertheles they are not obstinate enemyes vnto
the verite, but wolde gladly gyue place to lernynge, and reason.
And all that they do, is to serche with a sobre mekenes, what the truthe
is. The whiche thyng they are glad to embrace, as sone as it is layde
to them. Vnto these men is my wytyng, and my labour spenit
whom I do charitably beseeche, that they wyl fauourably, and in-
differently iudge this my wytyng. Thus do I bynde my selfe, to pue

Two sortes
of men.

Math. 23.

this thyng (by Gods grace) out of Chriſts holy worde, by the ſayings of holy doctours, by the auctorite of authenticall ſcriptures, by the examples, and practiſe of holy, and vertuous men. And yf I do not this, I wyll be contented not to be beleued, whiche thyng, yf I can performe, I thinke all reaſonable men wyll gyue credence to me. Finally, and laſt of all, I wyll ſhewe thoſe reaſons, and auctorities, wherby ſ the Pope hath bounde his prieſtes to kepe (as he calleth it) pure chaſtite. And in concluſion, after my pooze lernyng, I wyll aſſoyle all thoſe ſcriptures and reaſons, and proue, that in this thyng they can haue no place. Unto the performing of the which, Jeſus of his infinite mercy graunt me of his holy ſpिरित. Amen.

1. Corin. v. 7.

H yſt cometh bleſſed S. Paule, whom the church of God hath alwayes had in reuerence, and he approueth this doctrine of myn, ſayinge: Let euery man for auoydng of fornicacion haue his wyfe, and euery woman haue her huſbande. Marke howe bleſſed ſaynt Paule commaundeth, where as any daunger of fornicacion is, that euery man in auoydng of vicious lyfynge, ſhulde take a wyfe. Here is no man excepted, for the texte is, Euery man, and ſpecially for them, that can not lyue ſoole. Unto them it is a ſtreight com- mandement to mary, there is none other remedy ordeyned of God to auoyde fornicacion, but maryage. Yea, & yf there were ten other remedies more than maryage, yet muſte maryage be as laſull as they, to be bled, yea, and a great deale more, ſeynge, that it is ſpecially appoynted of God, for a remedy in this caſe. For as for all other remedies (as faſtyng, watchynge, laborynge, chaſtyſynge of a mans body) though they be laſull, laudable, and good, yet be they not appropriaſly, and onely appoynted of God, to be remedies agaynſt fornicacion: as bleſſed S. Paule doth here appoynte maryage for to be. Wherefore yf it be laſull for prieſtes, for to faſte, and watch, to auoyde fornicacion, it muſte nedes be more laſull for them to mary wyues, yf they be in daunger of fornicacion. For maryage in this caſe, is not alonely commaunded of God, but it is appoynted of God for an eſpeciall, and ſingular medicine for this diſeaſe. Marke alſo the occaſion that S. Paule had to wyte this texte to ſ Corinthians. There were certayne men amonge them, that reckened it an holines, and a perfection (as certayne men dothe nowe, for prieſtes) ſ chriſten men ſhulde lyue ſoole without wyues, as the texte declareth. It is good for a man, not to touche a woman. Nowe dothe bleſſed ſaynt Paule anſwere to this holy wyſdome on this maner: To auoyde fornicacion, ſaythe he, notwithstandinge your holynes, let euery man mary a wyfe. Nowe, yf bleſſed S. Paule had thoughte it vniuſall to mary, for any chriſten man, than wolde not he haue ſayd, Let euery man mary. Marke alſo, that it is not agaynſt the perfection of any chriſten

any chylsten man for to mary, but he is rather bounde to mary, yf he
haue not the gyfte of chastite. Forthermore note that l. Paule ney-
ther byddeth them (that thought it holynes to be be-maryed) to fast,
or to labour, or to weare heere. But alonely to mary, as who shulde
say, God hath ordeyned, and approued a lausfull, and a laudable re-
medy agaynst your sickenes. My doctrine is, yf you shall here your
God, and ble to your comfort those creatures, and remedies with
thankes gpyng, that God hath appoynted, and therewith be you
content, and recheu not your selues wyser than God, in helpynge,
and curynge your diseases. For nothyng can be vnlawfull, that God
doth allowe, and proue. And for vsynge of Gods creatures, and his
ordmaunces, in tyme, and place requisite, can no man be blamed be-
foze God. But for refusynge of Gods remedies, whan they be ne-
cessarie, let no man thynke, that he shall auoyde Gods daunger.
As for example. He that wyll not eate, & drynke, whan he is hungry,
and thyrsty, but excogitareth some other remedy of his own brayne,
so lge, that he dryngeth hym selfe in vrier destruction. Let no man
doubte, but in this case afoze God, he is a murderer, & an homicide.
I thynke there is no lernynge to the contrary. Wherfore I wolde,
that men shulde well remembre them selues in this case, and thynke
not, that they can inuent a thynge more pleasaunt vnto God, than
he can do hym selfe. His pleasure is beste known vnto hym selfe.
For this cause, I iudge it lausfull, for every prest, that hath not the
gyfte of chastite, to vse the remedy, that God hath ordeyned, & also
sanctified. Blessed saynt Paule saythe, that maryage is honorable,
and the bedde of them is vndefiled. But fornicators, and aduoltere-
res, God shall iudge. Marke, that l. Paule calleth it honorable,
and a cleue thynge. What presumption is therfore in vs, that recheu
it a dishonour? & vnclennes for prestes to vse maryage? God sayth,
He shall iudge bozhepers, and aduolterers. But not them that be
maryed. Wherfore yet agayne, after the doctrine of saynt Paule, I
exhorte all prestes, that can not lyue chaste, to receyue gods remedy
with thankes. This is l. Pauls doctrine, where he sayth, I wolde
that all men were as I my selfe am. But every man hath his propre
gyfte of God, one after this maner, an other after that. I say vnto
the unmarried men, & wydowes, It is good for them, yf they abyde
as I do. But and yf they can not abstayne, let them mary. For it is
better to mary, than to burne. I can not deuyse a clere terte for my
purpose than this is. Saynt Paule wolde that every man had the
gyfte of chastite. But in as moche as all men hath not one gyfte,
therfore saythe saynt Paule, muste every man vse hym selfe after his
gyftes. And he that hath not the gyfte of chastite, saynt Paule wyll
playnly, that he shall mary. He sayth not, that he shall chastite hym
selfe with

Deut. 24.

1 Corin. vii.

It is not suffi-
cient before
God to euer
l. Paule with
a light and a
vayn solacio.

ſelfe with labour, and with paine, to remedy that wepkenes, though
 I wolde be contente for my parte gladly, that men ſhulde proue all
 maner of lawfull remedies, to helpe them to lyue ſoole. But than,
 yf they can not ſo continue, I wyl in no wyſe, that they ſhall reſuſe
 maryage, as a thyng vnlawfull, and ſplehne: but rather uſe it, and
 proue it at the leſt wyſe, as they haue done other remedies, that they
 haue muſted, ſeyng that God hath inſtituted this, as a thyng that
 he iudgeth for a lawfull, & principall remedy. But note, that S. Paule
 ſaythe, It is better for to mary, than to burne. S. Paules meanynge
 is, that yf man hath not the gyfte to extynate the burnynge, and ar-
 dent deſyre of nature, that ſhā he muſt mary, rather than be ſubiecte
 vnto ſuche concupiſcence. S. Paule ſaythe not, rather mary than
 to kepe hoors. But his wyl is, that we ſhulde be ſo farre from all
 whoordome, & we ſhulde not ſuffre our ſelues ſo moche as to burne.
 The whiche precedeth all whoordome, and is leſſe in very dede, than
 whoordome. And yet ſaynt Paule wyllynge vs to auoyde this leſſe
 thyng, commaundeth vs to mary. Howe moche more for to auoyde
 open whoordome, and abhominable, and deteſtable vncleannes, that
 is nowe uſed ſhameleſſe in the worlde? I do not reprove, & prieſtes
 dothe lyue ſoole, I had rather thereto exhorte them. But this I de-
 teſtate, & men had rather ſuffre, and alowe prieſtes to lyue in who-
 ordome, and in all abhominable fornication, than for to vſe that lawfull
 remedy, that God hath both ordeyned, & ſanctified. We haue no
 mention in any ſtory, that euer any prieſt was burned for keepynge of
 whores. But for maryage, we haue ſene, & ſe daily, howe cruelly,
 & violently men both perſecute them, as though Gods bleſſed orde-
 nance were rather to be crucified, & abhorred, than & thyng, that
 bothe God, & nature reſpect. Where is there one man in Englade,
 that hath ſo great loue, & reuerence to the holy ſtate of matrimony,
 that he ſhulde kepe a married prieſt in his houſe? But prieſtes, that
 lyue vnlawfully agaynſt Gods lawe, and mans lawe, and agaynſt
 all honeſty, and moral vertue, be in euery mans houſes, and copeny,
 and rulers, and counſellers, & controllers. Alas for pyty, what ſhall
 I ſay to the affections of mens hertes, that thus can wyne (I wyl
 not ſay alowe) at ſuche abhominable thyngs. Yea, and the ſelfe ſame
 men ſhal be moſt extreme, and cruel vnto a poore ſimple prieſt, that
 of a good herte towarde Gods ordinaunce, maketh a lawfull wyſe.
 This prieſte, I ſay, ſhall neyther haue meare, nor drynke of them, nor
 yet none office of charite. But the other ſorte ſhalbe exalted, and ſet
 by in all honour, and kepte in reuerence, and eſtimacion. And why?
 Becauſe as they ſay, they be good, and cleue ſeloues, and louers,
 peace of fleſhe well. Theſe blaſphemous wordes haue I heere dy-
 uerſe tymes, and many. And men ſyffe and laughe at them, & haue
 a greate

whoordome is
 lawfull in no
 caſe: but ma-
 ryage is law-
 ful in dyuerſe
 caſes: ergo ma-
 ryage muſte
 rather be al-
 lowed than
 whoordome.

a great reioysynge in them. So soze is Gods holy ordinaunce, and all moꝛall vertue, and goodnes extyngued in mens heries. Oh lord God, and thy mercy were not, howe were this worlde able to contynue, that thus abhomyably, and shamefully iudgerth of thy halowed, and sanctified workes? But oh lord haue thou mercy, and pite on vs, for the swete bloude of thy sonne Christe Iesus. Noke not on our synnes, oh lord God, for who is able to abyde in thy syghte. But lord of thy infinite mercy, sende downe thy spirite in to the heries of thy people, that they may be taught, better to iudge of thy beuenty, and Godly institutions. Amen.

To our purpose. Other articles that I haue wyrtten of, be somthyng herbe, and obscure, sauynge alonely to these men, that be lerned. But as for this article, me thynke it is so playne, that I meruayle howe any man shulde doubte in it. For doubtes it nederly no lerned iudge, but onely a Cittle, and a moꝛall good man, that is indued with reason, and with equite. For surely myne aduersaries doth not earnestly defende pure, and clene chastite, for they knowe howe fewe preestes there be, that kepe theyr chastite. yea, and they knowe howe fewe they haue punished those men, that hath broken theyr chastite. So that they do not defende chastite, but rather sylchynes, and abhominable lypynge. In the whiche, the moſte parte of the spirituallite with lyue. Of this I wyll be reported to þe recordes of the kynges court, and also to theyr owne recordes. In the whiche (yf they shulde be seched) shulde be founde an innumerable sorte detected of vncleines. These matters be open, notwithstanding I am right soꝛy to reherse it, but I am compelled, seynge there is suche intollerable violence used agaynst those poore men that mary, because they wolde not alonely lyue verruouſly before God, but also moꝛally afore the worlde. Howe let men alonely vse reason in this case, and make comparison betwene these two maner of lypynge, and consydre whiche of them dothe become a potyſhe ordie, and a comon welthe beste. Whether is it after reason bettre for me to defile mynemes, other mennes wyues, other mens daughters, and other mens maydens, summa summa, that no mans seruaunt shulde be in sauegarde for me? Or els, that I shulde mary a wyfe of myn owne, as other noble kynges, and dukes, and other good men of the worlde hath done, and dothe dayly, and so to continue my lyfe with myn other neyghbours, after this maner of good neyghbourhod? Let men here without malpce iudge indifferently. Blessed S. Paule proceedeth further with this matter, and proueth clerely, that no man ought, or can be bounde to virginite, further than the gyfte of God dothe strength hym. Thus be saythe, as concernynge virgins, I haue no picepte of the lord, but alonely I geue you my counsell, for I thynke it good by the rea-

I wiste not as saynte those preestes that can do lyue chaste but I rather exhort them to so contynue.

Let those men at the lest marye wyues seynge they do not nor can nor liue chaste

No man doubteth but a great many doth thus lyue, the which ben great psecutors of married preestes. I wold desire them not to proue my patience for I knowe theyr names and some of theyr childen. Thessalo. iii.

son of

Married men
shall testifie
this.
Virginite is
a quiet lyfe.
Marriage
hath a great
er crosse: the
virginite.

Dist. xxv. ca.
ante trinitati.

Res necess.

Et res medic

Roma. xiiij.

San of this present necessite, that a man wolde lye so. As he wolde
say, Unto virginite I can not bynde you, further than yowr gyfte is,
nor I do not reken it a thyng necessary to hymne heuen by. For he-
uen is neyther the pryce of virginite, nor yet of marpage. But alonely
I reken virginite a good, and an expedient thyng to lye quietly by
in this worlde. For in marpage is many thynges that both distracte,
and disturberth a mans mynde. That this is s. Paules meanynge, it
is well proued by the terte that foloweth. Yf a virgyn dothe mary,
she doth not synne, but she shall haue moche temptatiō in the fleshe.
That is to say, many occasions of disquietnes. But I (saythe saynt
Paule) wolde gladly spare you from suche occasions, for I wolde
haue you without sorowe. And she that is vnmарed, hath no care,
but howe to serue God. But she that is married, hath moche care,
and sorowe, howe she shall dispatche all worldly busynesses.
So that s. Paule doth clerely declare his meanynge, howe that virgi-
nite is no uerrey way to heuen, than marpage is, sayng that alonely
an vnmарed person hath not so many occasions to be disquieted, as
a married hath. Wherfore you shall marke of this terte, firste that
saynt Paule hath no comaundement to bynde men to chastite.
Howe cometh it nowe therfore, that the Pope compellereth all these
men yf they will be preestes, firste to forsweere marpage, & to vowe chastite?
There is no lernynge, that is able to proue, howe that the pope can
make mo preceptes of God, than blessed s. Paule coude do. Further
more, what auctorite hath the Pope to bynde vs to any thyng, that
God, and his holy apostles hath lefte free? All lerned men, that euer
wrote, dothe graunte, that there be two maner of thynges in this
worlde. Some be called, Res necessarie, thynges that be necessary,
and muste be done, bicause that God hath comaunded them. And
these thynges no man is able to make indifferent, but they must nedes
be necessarily done. Other thynges there be, whiche lerned men cal-
leth, Res medic, thynges that be indifferent, and these may be done,
and may be lefte without synne. Nowe is the nature of these, con-
trary to the other, for they can not, nor may not be chaunged in to
thynges necessary. For that is agaynst theyr nature, as s. Paule de-
clareth to the Romanes, and in other diuerse places. Nowe is this
of treuthe, that virginite is a thyng of hym selfe by Gods ordinaunce
indifferent, and may be bled, and lefte, without synne. Wherfore it
standeth with no lernynge, that mans lawe wolde chaunge the na-
ture of this thyng, and make it vnto any man a thyng necessarye,
where as after Gods comaundement, it is a thyng but indifferent.
For that were as moche, as bothe to chaunge Gods ordinaunce, and
also the nature of the thyng. The whiche standeth with no lernynge.
For as the Pope, & all the worlde can not make of Gods comaunde-
ment a

ment a counsell, no more can they of Gods counsell make a precept. Wherfore I conclude out of blessed s. Paule, that no man oughte to bowe chastyte, further than God hath gyuen hym the gyfte. For yf chastyte were a thyng that coulde be obtayned, and kepte throughe bowyng, than were it not s. gyfte of God, but the gyfte of bowyng, the whiche is agaynst our mayster Christe, and also agaynst blessed s. Paule. Furthermore, let eury man now thynke in hym selfe, seying that blessed saynt Paule had no comaundement ouer chastyte, nor yet wolde gyue any comaundement, whether that it be the surest waye, and the lauffullest, to folowe the popes comaundement? or els to folowe blessed s. Paules doctrine, the whiche knowe the perfection of virginite, and also what dyd become preestes for to do, as well as the Pope dothe. Moreover, yf men wyll iudge those preestes, that with mary, whiche foloweth saynt Paules counsell, a doctrine greuouly for to synne, & for to be heretikes. Why shoulde they not rather iudge those men more greuouly for to synne, and to be ten tymes worse than heretikes, that foloweth the Popes comaundement in not marynge? Is not saynt Paules doctrine as lawfull to be kepte, and as farre from synne, as the Popes comaundementes be? Or is not s. Paule of as great auctoryte in the church of God as the pope is? I thynke yes. Note also, that s. Paule wolde not bynde the Countie. i. Con. vii. to virginite, bicause he wolde not rangle them in a snare, but alonly he exhorte them to virginite, as vnto an honest, and comely thing, that they myght the more quietly serue God. Upon this same text, saythe Arhanasius, that the apostle wolde compell no man to kepe virginite agaynst his wyll, nor he wolde not make virginite a thyng of necessity. Wherfore it muste nedes folowe, fyrste, that the Pope byndyng men to virginite, dothe lape a snare for them, and doth wothynge elles (excepte they haue the gyfte of chastyte) but byynge men in danger of dampnation. Secondly, he maketh a thyng of necessity, that the holy ghost in blessed s. Paule durst not, nor wolde not do. Thydely, that thyng that s. Paule reckened onely to conduce, and helpe to quietnes in this present lyfe, that same thyng maketh the Pope a sauyour, and a helper to heuen, the whiche is a great blasphemye to Christes holy bloude, and also a peruerse vsing of Gods blessed creatures. Nowe let eury christen man iudge, if this be chastytably done of the Pope, yea, whether he hath auctoryte this to do or not? Let no man, I beseeche hym iudge in this matter after pccialite, but even as he wyll answer before god. After this, blessed saynt Paule gothe forther, as concernyng them that haue a purpose, and a promysse betwene God, and them, to kepe theyr chastyte, his wordes ben these: He that purposeth surely in his herte, to byynge no nebe, but hath powere ouer his owne wyll, and hath so decreed in his herte, that he

Chastyte is
Gods gyfte.

Math. xix.
i. Coun. vii.

whether it be
better to fol-
lowe s. Paule
or the Pope

i. Con. vii.

Arhanasius
i. Coun. vii.

Arhan. legat
Et iudicauit
corde suo se
uare virginis
etatem suam.

son of this present necessite, that a man shoulde lyue so. As he wolde say, Unto virginite I can not bynde you, further than your gyfte is, nor I do not reken it a thyng necessary to wyne heuen by. For heuen is neyther the pryce of virginite, nor yet of maryage. But alowp I reken virginite a good, and an expedient thyng to lyue quietly by in this worlde. For in maryage is many thynges that both distracte, and disturbeth a mans mynde. That this is s. Paules meanynge, it is well proued by the terte that foloweth. Yf a virgyn dothe mary, she doth not synne, but she shall haue moche temptaciō in the fleshe. That is to say, many occasions of disquietnes. But I (saythe saynt Paule) wolde gladly spare you from suche occasions, for I wolde haue you without sorowe. And she that is vnmарed, hath no care, but howe to serue God. But she that is mарed, hath moche care, and sorowe, howe she shall dispatche all worldly busynesses. So that s. Paule doth clerely declare his meanynge, howe that virginite is no nether way to heuen, than maryage is, sayng that alowp an vnmарed person hath not so many occasions to be disquieted, as a mарed hath. Wherefore you shall marke of this terte, fyrste that saynt Paule hath no comaundement to bynde men to chastite. Howe cometh it nowe therfore, that the Pope compelleth all those men y^e woll be prelates, fyrste to forswere maryage, & to vowe chastite? There is no lernynge, that is able to proue, howe that the pope can make mo preceptes of God, than blessed s. Paule coulde do. Furthermore, what auctorite hath the Pope to bynde vs to any thyng, that God, and his holy apostles hath lefte free? All lerned men, that euer wrote, dothe graunte, that there be two maner of thynges in this worlde. Some be called, Res necessarie, thynges that be necessary, and muste be done, bicause that God hath comaunded them. And these thyngs no man is able to make indifferent, but they must nedes be necessarily done. Other thynges there be, whiche lerned men call, Res medic, thyngs that be indifferent, and these may be done, and may be lefte without synne. Nowe is the nature of these, contrary to the other, for they can not, nor may not be chaunged in to thynges necessary. For that is agaynst theyr nature, as s. Paule declareth to the Romanes, and in other diuerse places. Nowe is this of truthe, that virginite is a thyng of hym selfe by Gods ordinaunce indifferent, and may be vled, and lefte, without synne. Wherefore it standeth with no lernynge, that mans lawe shoulde chaunge the nature of this thyng, and make it vnto any man a thyng necessarie, where as after Gods comaundement, it is a thyng but indifferent. For that were as moche, as bothe to chaunge Gods ordinaunce, and also the nature of the thyng. The whiche standeth with no lernynge. For as the Pope, & all the worlde can not make of Gods comaundement a

Married men
shall resigne
this.
Virginite is
a quiet lyfe.
Maryage
hath a great-
er crosse, than
virginite.

Dist. xxi. ca.
ante trinitatis.

Res necess.

Res medic

Roma. xiiij.

ment a counsell, no more can they of Gods counsell make a precept. Wherfore I conclude out of blessed S. Paule, that no man oughte to bowe chastite, further than God hath gyven hym the gyfte. For if chastite were a thyng that coulde be obtayned, and kepte throughe bowyng, than were it not þ gyfte of God, but the gyfte of bowyng, the whiche is agaynst our mayster Christe, and also agaynst blessed S. Paule. Furthermore, let euerie man now thynke in hym selfe, sayng that blessed saynt Paule had no comaundement ouer chastite, nor yet wolde gyue any comaundement, whether that it be the surest waye, and the lawfulllest, to folowe the popes comaundement? or els to folowe blessed S. Pauls doctrine, the whiche knowe the perfection of virginite, and also what byd become preestes for to do, as well as the Pope dothe. Moreover, if men wyl iudge those preestes, that with mary, whiche foloweth saynt Pauls counsell, a doctrine greuouly for to synne, & for to be heretikes. Why shulde they not rather iudge those men more greuouly for to synne, and to be ten tymes worse than heretikes, that foloweth the Popes comaundement in not maryenge? Is not saynt Pauls doctrine as lawfull to be kepte, and as farre from synne, as the Popes comaundementes be? Or is not S. Paule of as great auctorite in the church of God as the pope is? I thynke yes. More also, that S. Paule wolde not bynde the Countie. to virginite, bicause he wolde not rangle them in a snare, but alonly he exhorte them to virginite, as vnto an honest, and comely thing, that they myght the more quietly serue God. Upon this same text, saythe Athanasius, that the apostle wolde compell no man to kepe virginite agaynst his wyl, nor he wolde not make virginite a thyng of necessite. Wherfore it muste nedes folowe, fyrste, that the Pope byndyng men to virginite, dothe laye a snare for them, and doth no thyng elles (excepte they haue the gyfte of chastite) but bynge men in daunger of dampnation. Secondly, he maketh a thyng of necessite, that the holy ghost in blessed S. Paule durst not, nor wolde not do. Thyrde, that thyng that S. Paule reckened onely to conduce, and helpe to quietnes in this present lyfe, that same thyng maketh the Pope a laupour, and a helper to heuen, the which is a great blasphemie to Christes holy bloude, and also a peruerse blyng of Gods blessed creatures. Nowe let euerie christen man iudge, if this be chaepably done of the Pope, yea, whether he hath auctorite this to do or not? Let no man, I beseeche hym iudge in this matter after peccialite, but even as he wyl answer before god. After this, blessed saynt Paule gothe forther, as concernyng them that haue a purpose, and a promysse betwene God, and them, to kepe theyr chastite, his wordes ben these: He that purposeth surely in his herte, haupyng no neede, but hath power ouer his owne wyl, and hath so decreed in his herte,

Chastite is
gods gyfte.

Math. xix.
1. Coun. vii.

whether it be
better to fol-
lowe S. Paule
or the Pope

1. Coun. vii.

Athanasius
1. Coun. vii.

Athan. legio
Et iudicauit
corde suo se-
uare virgin-
tatem suam.

that he wyll kepe his virginite, dothe well. Here note fynde, that
 s. Paule copelleth no man to vowe, but he letteth every man stande
 to his owne wyll. Forthermore, blessed saynt Paule wyllith, what
 fouer he be, that decreeth in his herte to kepe virginite, that he must
 fynde conside, whether it lyeth in his power to kepe his decre or not.
 yf it be in his power, then saythe s. Paule doth he better to kepe his
 virginite, than to marpe. But yf it lye not in his power to be chaste
 bothe bodie and soule, than wyllith saynt Paule that he marpe.

blessed saynt
 Paule dispen
 seth with vn
 laufull vowe

Note here, that saynt Paule, notwithstandinge mans decre, and
 purpose, whiche he made to kepe virginite, wyllith that he do marp,
 yf he can not kepe his decre and purpose. Howe contrary is this to
 the Popes doctrine, whiche rather suffereth his priests to lye in all
 vncleannes, by the reason of theyr folyshe promise made vnto hym,
 than he wolde suffer them to marpe wyues after s. Paules holy do
 ctine. yea s. Paule is not ashamed, more cruelly to punishe a poore
 woman for maryng, than he doth, yf she were a whoore. For a nune,
 yf she mary (sayth he) shall neuer be admytted to receiue the blessed
 sacrament of Chyist, But yf she be an whoore, than (sayth he) may she
 after penance, be admytted to the sacrament. What is abhoyrnyng
 of maryage, yf this be none? For to copare it, yea to make it worse
 than whoosome? What if we haue vowed chastite? hath she not also
 vowed to ffe fornication? Howe is she bounde vnto virginite, but
 by mans lawe, But for to auoyde fornication, a whoosome, is Gods
 comaundement. Wherefore se howe hygh that the Pope wyll set
 hym selfe aboue God, and his holy ordinaunce. Forthermore saynt
 Paule saythe, that the wyll of God is, that we shulde abstayne from
 fornication, and that every one of vs shulde knowe to kepe his vessel
 in sanctifying, and honour. Marke s. Paules saynge, fynde, that it
 is the wyll of God, that we shulde abhoire fornication. Who wyll
 nowe resist the wyll of God? and not regarde the thyng that God
 wyll haue done? I truste no chysten man. Forthermore, the wyll of
 God is, that every man shulde kepe his vessel in honour. Howe yf
 priests be men, and haue not the gyfte of chastite, than are they bounde
 to regarde this comaundement. For he saythe, every man. Marke
 also, that blessed saynt Paule calleth the vessel of maryed men, ho
 norable, & sanctified. Wherefore than shulde it be vnlawfull for a priest
 to vse a sanctified, and an holy vessel? To possesse other mens vessels
 in vncleannes is agaynst God, & man. But it is lawfull for any man
 here by this reite, to possesse a vessel of his owne, the whiche God
 hath sanctified, and honored. Howe can man nowe for any occasion
 curse that thyng, that god hath sanctified, or make it vncleane, that
 god hath purified? (s. Paule hauynge the spirit of god dyd pro
 phete, that there shulde come men in the latter dayes, whiche shulde
 forbyd men

Revis. q. c. de
 filia in verbo
 de filia.

The Galo. iii.

1 Tim. iii.

forbyd men to mary, and these men shoulde speake lyes in holy hypoc-
rysie. Nowe make the terte, When shall forbyd maryage, and that
in the latter dayes. The terte is, that no man hath forbydden any
certeyne state of men to marye, but the Pope onely. Wherefore this
terte must nedes touche his kyngdome, seynge that he is also in the
latter days. There were certeyne heretikes called Taciary, whiche
byd condempne fully, and holly all maner of maryage, and thonghe
Paul speake agaynst them, yet in very dede the Popes doctrine
is not excepted, seing it is cōtained in these latter dayes. For though
there were twenty heresies more than Taciary, yet muste the terte
be applyed agaynst them all, that dothe condempne, or elles dyspse
maryage, in the hole, or in the parte. For the terte is agaynst them
all, that dothe forbyd maryage, and specially in the latter dayes.

Taciary.

But he that doth forbyd his prestes to mary, with forbyd for so moche
maryage, Ergo, the terte maketh agaynst the pope. Note also, that
these men, that forbyd maryage, shall haue an holy colour of hypo-
crysie. Nowe hath the pope forbydden his prestes to mary, vnder the
colour of holynes, because (as he sayth) his prestes must be pure, and
clene, as who shoulde saye, that maryage were vncleane, and vnpure
for prestes to vse. What can be holy hypocrysie, if this be not hypo-
crysie? Here is the holy, and pure institution of God condempned,
as a thing vncleane for his holy prestes to vse. Moreover Taciary
byd not forbyd maryage vnder the colour of holynes, But they saye
it was fully, and holly an vnlawfull thyng. The whiche doctrine
hab no maner of colour. But the pope sayth, that maryage is good
and laudable in it selfe, but his prestes be so pure, and so holy for to
vse that simple thyng. For it is not a thyng (saythe he) that dothe
become the state of geestly men, But it belongeth to wyse, and im-
perfecte men. Nowe judge good reader, which of these two heresies,
eether Taciary, or Popiary, dothe pretende the greatest colour of
holynes? And yet I am sure, that the holy ghost in saynt Paul, byd
speake dothe agaynst the greatest, and also smallest hypocrysie. For
he alloweth no maner of fained holynes.

There were other certayne heretikes called Marciari. Those byd
receyue no man to be a churche man, excepte he wolde refuse maryage.
Make what diuersite is betwene these heretikes, and the Popes
lemyng. The Pope receyueth no prestes, excepte they forswere
maryage. The Marciaries, they receyue no man to be a churche
man, excepte he forswere maryage. So that there is no diuersite be-
twene these heretikes, and the Pope, but that these heretikes dothe
excepte a greater nombre, than the Pope dothe, and speake more
generally. But the very thyng is all one. For the Marciaries sud-
denly maryage vncleane, for they sorte, and so dothe the Pope, for his

The marci-
nites and the
popes all saye

D. xxi. c. lxx.

i. Timo. iiii.

Obiectio.

The pope co-
pelleth me to
vowe: ſo: ſo
moche he for-
byddeth ma-
ryage.

Forſe. Furthermore Marcian ſayth, that amonge chriſten men may be no temporall maryage, but all coniunction muſte be turned vnto a ſpirituall maryage. And the ſelfe and ſame thyng ſayth the Pope of his prieſtes. Wherefore ſynge that they do graunt howe ſo bleſſed ſaynt Paule, and alſo holy ſathers hath condemned this herelſe of Marcian, it muſt nedes alſo ſolowe, that the opinion of the Pope is lyke wyſe condemned. But yet parauenture here wyll be ſayd, as without Echius, and other men wytyng of this matter ſayth, howe that the Pope dothe not condemne maryage, but he cauſeth men alonely to kepe theyr bowe. I anſwere, that this is but a ſmall euacion. For fyrſte the Pope compelleth them, yf they wyll be prieſtes, to bowe, and to forſwere maryage. For yf there were no ſtatute made afore of the Pope, that all prieſtes ſhoulde forſwere maryage, than ſhoulde there no bowes be made of prieſtes agaynſt maryage, but the thyng ſhoulde be free. So that the bowe cometh out of the Popes decree, and prohibition, and not the decree out of the bowe. Ergo, the prohibition gothe before the bowe. Wherefore this euacion can haue no place. Take an example. The Emperour maketh a ſtatute, that no man ſhalbe admytted in to his ſeruaice, excepte that he fyrſte ſwere to be an enemy vnto the kynges grace of Englande. Is not now the Emperour fyrſte an enemy vnto the kynges perſone, and than alſo a forbydder of loue, and fauour, towarde the kynges grace of Englande? I thynke his grace wyll take this acte none other wyſe. For though he doth not, nor can not make all men the kynges enemies, yet he maketh all that appertayne to hym, to be the kyngs enemies. So lyke wyſe the Pope, though he do not forbyd all men maryage, yet he forbyddeth alſo many as wyll be prieſtes. Yea, and he wyll admyt no man to be prieſt, excepte he fyrſte forſwere maryage. So that the bowe is fyrſte made, or that prieſthode is gauen. Nowe yf he were not an enemy in very dede vnto maryage, what ſhoulde moue hym to compell his prieſtes to forſwere maryage? Why doth he not as well bynde all his prieſtes to maryage, as he doth to chaſtite? Yea, why doth he not at the leaſt kepe hym ſelfe indifferent, and neyther make decree agaynſt maryage, nor agaynſt chaſtite? But the very trueth is, that the proteſtours of vncleynnes, a fylthy lypynge, doth knowe very well, that this ſolucion is of no ſtrength, or valure. For in very dede theyr heres doth rekeuyn matrimony vncleue, and vnpure, and though they wolde now make a gloſe, yet theyr owne lawes, the whiche be ſpronge out of theyr heres, dothe ſwete howe moche they holde of holy, and vnpolluted matrimony. The Pope doth cal clerkes that be marryed, vnþyon, that is, wycked, cutted, vncleue, fylthy, & all ſo noughty is. Alſo in an other place, he calleth the matrimony of lay men, a fleſhly, a carnal thyng, and the chaſtite

Diſt. xxxii. c.
Crudeſcant.

D. xxi. c. lxx.

chastite of his spiritualtie, he calleth spiritual marriage. What sayeth
 Marrian more than this is? Is not this abhominable doctrine?
 thus wameles to speake of holy, and sanctified matrimony? and to
 call it fleshely, and carnall? And yet he is not thus contente, but he
 calleth it marriage of preestes synne, And defenders of the same, set
 tores libidinum, the folowers of fleshy lustes, preceptores viciozum,
 the teachers of vice, lazates eterna luxurie, geyng liberte to lechery.
 Tell me, yf any man wolde speake, and reprove the whores of the
 strewes, what other wordes coude he vie agaynst them more shame
 full than these? And yet they wyl not be noted to condemne ma-
 trimony? What mysticke can not the deuyll cloke, yf men wyl be-
 leue hym? But furthermore, let vs se, howe holy, and blessed that
 he rekeneth matrimony for to be, by the reason of honours, and re-
 warden, that he gyueth vnto preestes that mary. For he sayth he, yf
 a preest dothe mary of ignorance, by the reason that he knowe not
 the statute of the Pope, forbydding preestes to mary, that than this
 preest, he shall forsake his wyfe, and shal so continue with-
 out any further promotion, as long as he lyueth. And yf there be
 any preest, that wyl defende his marriage, by the exaple of a preestes
 in the olde lawe, hym dothe the Pope priuate of all maner of eccle-
 siastical honour for euer. Moreover he sayth, that yf any spirituall
 man dothe after this decree marye, than his synne shall neuer be for-
 gauen hym, nor they may neuer afterwarde handle the blessed sacra-
 ment, because that marriage is a fleshy, & a foule concupiscence sayth
 he. Nowe iudge indifferently chulsen redet, yf this be not despy-
 syng of holy matrimony, thus shamefully to speake of it, and so
 cruelly to handle them, that holpy both lyue in it, hauing nothyng
 for hym, but a lousye decree of Pope Siricius. So that men may
 perceiue cleerly, howe that he bynderth not his preestes, by the reason
 of theyr vowes, as his pretours wth say, but by a reason of a statute,
 that Siricius had made afore the preestes had vowed any chastite.
 Saynt Paule, when he wolde ordeyne suche byshops, as shulde be in
 the church of god irreprehensible, amonge all other thinges he wolde
 that he shulde be a man of one wyfe, hauing chyldren well brought
 vp. Here s. Paule alloweth hym one wyfe. Howe cometh it than,
 that men saye, that a preest shall haue no wyfe? Howe agreeth
 this one, with none? Men must at the leest wayes graunte, that s.
 Paule byd not rechen marriage vnpure, and vnclene for a byshop,
 for yf he had, he wolde not haue graunted hym one wyfe. yf moreover
 he speaketh of his chyldren well brought vp, in the whiche he admit-
 teth, & alloweth the coniugation, & copulation betwene them two, for
 to be Godly, and veruous. He hath other eyes to loke on a blessed
 and holy coniugation, whiche is betwene man, and wyfe, than the
 pope hath.

Dist. lxxv. c.
 Clarimus.

Dist. lxxv. c.
 da aliquantulo

Sen agaynst
 the holy gost
 helpe God.

1. Timo. 15.

Tim. 1.

Considered
 not gotten
 with loking
 on women
 onely.

pope hath. For the pope rekeneth it ſpely, & not ſemely, that a prieſt
 ſhalde with his holy handes touche a womans body, and with the
 ſame handes to conſecrate the holy ſacrament. Oh lord god, what
 can not the peupl bynge to paſſe? What abhominable holynes of
 hypocryſyſ is this? to reckon a prieſt unpure, and unclene, bicauſe he
 hath bleſſed hym ſelfe in Gods holy ordinaunce? Is not this as moche
 to ſay? God thou arte an inuenter, and ordeyner of that thyng, that
 maketh men unpure, and unclene? thou arte the auctor of this un-
 clenenes? For haddeſt thou not inſtituted it, ſo had men not bleſſed it.
 Alas howe ſayne wolde I chyde. I coulde here ſaye ſome thyng, yf
 I wolde, but I may not. Neuertheles it greueth me, for I can not
 tell where to bleſſe yuell wordes, yf I ſhall not bleſſe them agaynſt ſuche
 abhominable, and execrable herelie as this is. But yet I pray you
 one worde. Why be not your handes defiled for handling of whores
 fleſhe? is whores fleſhe ſo clene? that prieſtes may handle it? and the
 fleſhe of an honeſt, and a good woman ſo unclene, that a prieſt muſt
 be burned for handlinge of it? Fre on the, deuyll. Thyngkeſt thou
 that men hath neyther reuerence in the; hertes towardes God, nor
 yet reaſon to iudge of theſe thynges? What can be ſhameles, yf this
 thyng ſhall be thus allowed amongeſt chriſten men? Here be all
 honeſt women, & that in honeſty, abhorred and diſpiſed, and whores
 in compariſon of them, be ſanctified, and bleſſed. But oh thou lord
 God, I do yet beleue, that thou wylt ons bereuſged of this diſhon-
 our, and ſhamefulnes. Moreover, why dothe not oppreſſion, and
 violence, and theſte, defile prieſtes handes, as well as marpage?
 What hath pure matrimonye offended, that it alonely ſhoulde defile
 prieſtes handes? and all other maner of vices, and unclennes, dothe
 nothyng conſampnate them. But alas for pittie, howe blindly do
 we iudge of this holy ordinaunce, & inſtitution of God, that thus to
 blaſpheme it? What wyl men ſaye to bleſſed S. Paule, where he
 ſayth, Haue we not power to leade aboute a ſyſter to wyfe, as well
 as the bretherne of the lord, & as Cephas? I wyl not diſpute, whe-
 ther that Paule had a wyfe, or not. But this I am ſure, that this
 certte doth clerely proue, and that after the mynde of geat doctours,
 howe S. Peter, and other apoſtles had wyues. Wherefore ſhan ſhulde
 it be vnlawfull for our prieſtes to mary? Be our prieſtes holper than
 ſaynt Peter? and other apoſtles? Or is marpage nowe more vnlaw-
 full, than it was then? But parauenture here wyl be ſayd, that the
 apoſtles had wyues before S. Chyſte dyd choſe them, but afterwarde
 they forſoke the; wyues, & folowed Chyſte. To this I anſwere,
 that it is not ynough ſo to ſay. For ſeynge that they haue graunted,
 howe the apoſtles had wyues, when they were called, it ſtanderth
 with reaſon, that theſe men ſhoulde proue by an open ſcripture, that
 the apoſtles

Some of pre-
 ſtes that ben
 knowne for o-
 pen whormar-
 ſters: & bene-
 fices wyl be
 than better
 chepe. And I
 wil rehen you
 than crueſtly
 to defende
 chaſtite.

1 Corin. 12.

A great bla-
 phemye a-
 gainſt Chyſt
 and his holy
 apoſtles

the apostles after they calling, dyd forsake they wyues. yea, I shal
go further with them, and say playnly, that is an abhominable lye,
and a great blasphemie agaynst God, and his holy apostles, to say,
that they had forsaken they wyues. For our mayster Christ taught
them not to forsake they wyues, but in any wyse to kepe them, sa-
uyng alone for fornicacion. Nowe is the election vnto apostol-
shipp, neyther fornicacion, nor yet lyche vnto fornicacion. Wherefore I
say boldly, that it is a false lye, agaynst the holy apostles, to say, that
they forsake they wyues. Also this same place of s. Paule doth pue
it a false lye. For saynt Paule speaketh, howe s. Peter after his apo-
stolshipp, and also other disciples of Christ, caried they wyues about
with them, whan they wente a preaching. Wherefore it is but a lye,
to say, that they had forsaken them. Nowe christen reder, here haue
I performed, I truste, one parte of my promise, that is for to say, I
haue proued this article of myne by Gods holy worde so playnely,
that no man (I trust) can, or wyll deny, but that these scriptures be
sufficient to moue me, and all other men to be of this doctrine, that I
am of. The seconde parte of my promise was to proue this also by
holy doctours. Vnto the whiche, I wyll nowe repayre my selfe.
But afore all thynges, I louyngly, and charitably desyre the reder,
to set aparte all pccialite, and malice, and to iudge indifferently of
my doctrine, as he wyll answer at the dreadfull day of dome, And
not to refuse that thyng, that is true, for hated, or displeasure of
my persone. For surely myne intente is neyther to hurte, or harme,
nor yet displease (as moche as lyeth in me) any person. And though
I haue in tymes past, somewhat vehemently wyrtten agaynst those
thynges, that I thought errors: yet wolde I require hertely euery
man to weye euery thyng indifferently by hym selfe, and consydre
howe I haue taken vpon me, not to enuey agaynst any persone, but
alone to fight agaynst, that deuyllsye doctrine, whiche is dispo-
nour to Christ, and his blessed bloude, and perillous, & dampnable
vnto all christen mens soules. Secundarily, I haue ben wrongefully,
and vcharitably handeled, as God, and all good men wth knowe,
the whiche I wyll be bounde to proue, whan soeuer it shall please
God, and the kynge, to assigne indifferent iudges to here me, & myn
aduersaries. No, let no man requyre in me, that he can not fynde in
hym selfe, that is for to say, that I can so patiently, & so easely beare,
and suffice these intollerable wronges, as I oughte for to do, yea pa-
uerture as I gladly wolde do. Wherefore I confesse, & many wordes
hath ben shapely wyrtten by me, the whiche I wolde gladly had ben
more charitably wyrtten, but than God had not gyuen me so great
patience. Wherefore I truste nowe by Gods grace, somthyng more
temperately to speake, desyringe euery good man of his charite, to
helpe me

Math. xix.

The apostles
forsake not
they wyues
as me diene,

helpe me with his deuoute prayer. Amen.

Cypa. epist. 11

¶ To our purpose. fyrſt cometh blessed ſaynt Cipriane, of whom was asked a queſtion, what ſhulde be done with thoſe religious perſones, that coulde not kepe thei chaſtite as they had vowed. Theſe be his wordes. Thou doſt aſke what we do iudge of virgins, the whiche after they haue decreed to lyue chaſtely, are afterwarde founde in one bed with a man. Of the whiche thou ſayſt that one of them was a deakon. We do with great ſorrow ſe the great rapne of many perſones, whiche cometh by the reaſon of ſuche vnlawfull, and perſeuous companyenge together. Wherefore yf they haue dedicate them ſelfe into Chyſte, out of faythe, to lyue purcly, and chaſtely, than let them ſo remayne without any tabelle, and ſtrongely, and ſtedfaſtly to

B. Cypri. dyd
more regarde
honest liuing
than the reli-
gious yowe.

abide the rewarde of virginite. But and yf they wyll not abyde, or elles can not abyde, than is it better to mary, than ſo to fall in to the fyre of concupiſcence, And let them geue vnto the byetheene, and ſpurne none occaſion of ſclaunder. &c. I do ſo for my parte requyre no more than blessed Ciprian with here teache, yf ſo to ſay, yf prieclyſ can lyue ſoale, I beſeeche our lord to rewarde them ſo, and geue them grace to continue. But yf they can not, I wolde haue no ſhore layde ſo thei ſoules, nor yet haue them compelled to a thyng, that they can not kepe. But I wolde the thyng ſhulde be indifferent ſo them, that can lyue chaſte, ſo to remayne. And they that haue not the gyfte, nor can not ſo lyue, ſo to vſe that laufull remedye, that God hath ordeyned. What hath men to do, or what moueth them to compell prieſtes not to marie, as longe as God is contented with prieſtes wedlocke? Let no man thynke that ſuche a compulſion is acceptable to God. And yf men wyll not be contented with this doctrine, that is ſo good, ſo reaſonable, and ſo honeſt, what can I ſay to it? I muſte be contente, I can do no more, but ſay my leenyng, and let God alone with his punyſhement.

Aug. de bono
coniuiali de
Iulianum.

¶ Alſo blessed S. Auguſtine wytyng of this ſame matter, ſaythe theſe wordes, Lettayne men dothe affirme thoſe men to be aduouters, that dothe mary after they haue vowed chaſtite. But I do affirme, that thoſe men dothe greuouſly ſynne, the whiche dothe ſeprate them. &c.

¶ Note fyrſt that ſaynte Auguſtine wyterth of them, that had vowed chaſtite. And yet notwithstandinge he wolde that thoſe men ſhulde continue in thei marpage together. The whiche thyng he wolde neuer haue ſuffered, yf it had ben vnlawfull, and hereſe, as men wolde make it nowe adays.

B. Aug. diſ-
penſeth with
yowed where
daunger is of
conuiciau.

¶ Secondly obſerue that there were in his dayes (as be nowe many in ours) that thoughte it a greuous ſynne, ſo a man to mary after his vow. And yet this opinion S. Auguſt. dothe condemne. Note let men admyt this doctrine of S. Auguſt. ſure, and I wyll requyre no more. And yf they wyll condemne me, than let

than let them also condempne *Augustine*, for I haue learned it of hym. Also blessed *Ambrose*, wyrteth of virginite in this maner: Chastite of body ought to be desired of vs. The whiche thyng I do grue for a counsell, and do not commaunde it imperiously. For virginite is a thyng alone, that ought to be counsailed, but not to be commaunded, it is rather a thyng of voluntary will, than of a precepte. *gr. Ambro. xxiij. questi. i. cap. Integritas.*

Nowe howe *Ambrose* teacheth, howe that virginite oughte not to be required, as vnder a precepte. Wherefore it must nedes folowe, that the Popes doctrine is vnlawfull, when he commaundet, that no man shall be a priest, excepte he be chaste. For here the Pope cōpel- leth men vnder a colour, for to be chaste. As for an example.

I chaunceth me to mete by the way a thefe, the whiche sayth vnto me, Thou shalt not go ouer this bydge, excepte thou wylt deli- uer me thy purse. Nowe is it of truthe, that I may chose whether I wyl go ouer the bydge or not, but yet this man dothe violence, for compellyng me either to go backe agayne, or els to lose my purse, if that I wyl go ouer. And I doubt not, but the kynge latre wyl bothe condempne hym for doinge violence, and also take hym for a thefe. So lykewyle the Pope dothe wronge, when he saythe, I shall not be a priest, excepte that I fynde some chaste. I say, that this condicion is vnlawfull, and it is wrongefully done, to bynde me to any thyng vnder any condicion, that God hath left free to me. Moreover, our mayster *Christ* dyd not require that condicion of his preestes. Wherefore it must nedes folowe, that it is not a thyng, that of necessity belongeth to priesthod.

Also *Dionysius* appo- neth this doctrine of myne, sayinge: Let byshoppes, and preestes rede this thyng (he speaketh agaynst mypendyng of goodes, that is of- fered to helpe poore men with) the whiche doth teache theyr children prophane letters, and maketh them to rede comedies, and to synge handie songes of iesters, and these chyldren they fynde of the charge of *the church*. *gr. Obferue* *Dionysius* speaketh here of byshoppes, and preestes chyldren, the which they coude not haue, if they were vni- married. For it is not to be supposed, that saint *Dionysius* speaketh of bastardes, or of whores chyldren, for than he wolde haue vled other wordes. So that good rede, it is clere, after the doctrine of holy doctours, that it is lawfull for preestes to haue wyues, and specially, if they can not lyue sole. But nowe wyl we go further, and se what holy counsellers hath ordeyned in this cause. The truthe is, that the deuyl hath of longe tyme herped on this stryng, to forbyd preestes matrimony. For for any deuotion, that he had to virginite, for he knewe well men coude not kepe it, further than theyr yfres were. But alone, that he myghte lay a snare for mens soules, and also byng the holy institution, and ordinaunce of God in to a con- tempt,

The holy
counſell.

Ex tripertita
hiſtory.
Diſt. cxxi. ca.
Pierena.

temple, and a diſpiling. But God hath alwaies of his infinite mercy
eye, ſtirred by ſome good man to reſiſt hym. We reade in antient
ſtoies, that in the counſell of Aſene, certayne men went aboute to
haue priuared prieſtes from theyr wyues. But almyghthy God byd
let them. The wordes of the ſtoies be theſe. The counſell of Aſe-
ene, wyllynge to reſourme the lyfe of men, byd ſet certayne lawes,
the whiche we call Cannones: amonge the whiche, certayne men
wolde haue had a lawe to be brought in, by byſhops, prieſts, decons,
and ſubdeacons, ſhulde not lye with theyr wyues, whiche they had
maried, beſore theyr conſecration. But Paphnutus a confeſſour,
byd withſtande them, and ſayd, that theyr marpage was honozable,
and it was pure chaſtite for them to lye with theyr wyues. So that
the counſell was pſwaded, not to make any ſuche lawe, aſſurynge
it for to be a greuous occaſion bothe vnto them, and alſo vnto theyr
wyues of fornication. And this thyng byd Paphnutus, thoughte
that he hym ſelfe was vnmariyd. The counſell byd alſo the ſen-
tence. So that nothyng was decreed, as concerninge this thyng,
but euery man was lefte vnto his freewyll, and not boſide of any ne-
ceſſite. &c. Here is to be noted, that this holy counſell byd not reſerue
it an vnpure, or a ſpithy thyng, for a byſhop, or a prieſt, to company
with his wyfe. But they do graunte, that it is a pure, & a cleane chaſtite
for a prieſt to company with his wyfe. The whiche is directly againſt
the Pope. For he ſayth, that it is fleſhly, and carnal, and that theyr
handes be defiled, & they make vnbworthy thereby, to handle the bleſſed
ſacramentes. But here wyll be ſayd, that theſe men had wyues be-
fore theyr conſecration, the whiche thyng they wyll alſo graunte,
that a mariyd man may be choſen a byſhop, and alſo kepe his wyfe
afterwarde. But he may not mary after his conſecration, that had no
wyfe before. To this I anſwere, that it is no laufull ſolution, thus
to ſay. For yf it be laufull for a man to kepe his wyfe after his prieſt-
hod? Why ſhall it not be as laufull for hym to take a wyfe after his
conſecration? What thyng is there in his matrimony, that is made
after his conſecration, that was not in his matrimony afore his con-
ſecration? Or for what cauſe byd he take a wyfe afore his conſe-
cration? Yf he byd it to auoyde fornicaciō, than is he now moche more
bounde to take a wyfe than before, for it becometh hym a great deale
woiſe to lye in fornication, after his conſecration, than he byd afore.
But theſe men that maketh this lyght ſolution, dothe not handle
this matter truly before god. For it is not theyr meaning, that ma-
ryed men ſhulde cyther be byſhops, or prieſtes. For let them ſpeke
me in all theyr cronycles, that euer any mariyd man was choſen to
be a byſhop, ſyns they had made lawes, that prieſtes ſhulde haue no
wyues, & than I wyll beleue them. But alonly they ſeke an excuſation,
howe to

holbe to defende the matter by. For I dare say, yf any man shalld go
aboute to chosse a maryed man to be a byshop, or elles a person, they
wolde thynke he were madde. In somuche that some of them hath
sayd, that maryage was so vnlawfull for preestes, that they haue say-
ned, the holy apostles for to forsake theyr wyues, after theyr election.
Whiche standeth these two together: that maryed men may be bys-
shops, and kepe theyr wyues, and yet the apostles dyd forsake theyr
wyues, as they say: But and yf they wyl be content, that maryed
men may be byshops, I feare me the byshoppes wyl sone be got-
ten out of theyr handes, and mooste parte also of all benefices. Where-
fore I wolde counsell them, rather to graunte that preestes myghte
haue wyues, than for maryed men to be made byshops. Further-
more marke, & the holy counsell made no lawe, whether & preestes shoulde
mary after theyr consecration or not. Wherfore it must nedes be taken
of them as a free, and an indifferent thyng, for a preest to mary after
his consecration, or not. For yf they had reckened it vnlawfull for hym
to marye, than wolde they haue forbiddyn it. For the counsell was
gathered for to resourme those thynges, that were amysse, as & I tere
saythe clerely. Moreover, yf it had chaunced than a preest to haue
maryed after his consecration, he had not offended, for there was no
lawe at that day, & dyd forbiddyn hym. Ergo, it is nowe no necessarye axiome.
¶ If men wyl not be content with these authorities, yet somewhat ra-
tionalie them, I wyl bynge them another lawe, whiche the pape
callith Canon apostolozum, the wordes be these. yf any man
dothe teache, that a preest by the reason of his ordre ought to forsake
his wyfe, cursed be he. &c. Marke of this lawe, that for colour of
holynes, no man ought to forsake theyr wyues. Wherfore it muste
nedes folowe, that for preestes to mary wyues, after theyr consecration
is not agaynst theyr holynes. Note also, that the texte sayth: holbe
preestes had wyues of theyr owne, & wente not a boyetyng, as they
do now. We rede in the counsell of Sangrens, holbe they made
this decree. yf any man dothe iudge or condemne a preest that is
maryed, & he may not, by the reason of his maryage do sacrifice, but
wyl abstayne from his masse by the reason therof, cursed be he. &c.
¶ Yf ye shall knowe the occasion wherfore this counsell was ga-
thered. ¶ There was a certayne heretike called Eustachius, the
whiche dyd amonge all other heresyces teache, that no maryed man
coude be saved. Also he taught, & preestes, whiche dyd mary, ought
for to be dispensed, & in no wyse for to handle the blessed sacramentes.
Agaynst this heretike, is this decree made. Note let euery man
iudge what diuersite is betwene this heretike, & the popes doctrine.
This heretike sayth, that maryage is brynner, and barrene, and that
a maryed preest may not touche the sacramentes. The selfe and the

Wth. m. ca.
Omnino.

If maryed
men maye be
byshops / the
seconde dyce
therne than
no longer be
beggars.

Canon 40.

Council of
Sangrens.
Canon 119.

Eustachius.
heretike.

Dist. xxviii.

Dist. xxviii. c.
 De concubinis

Saying the
 Pope 14 Eus-
 tacheus.

Dist. xxviii. c.
 Dist. xxviii. c.
 Assumit pre-
 teria.

Dist. xxxi. ca.
 sacerdotibus
 Episcopos.
 Tenere eos.
 Si laicus.

M. Synodus.

same doctrine saythe the Pope in diuerse places. And specially in a
 chapter, that begynneth Nullum, where he saythe, that no byshop
 shall presume to consecrate any deacon, excepte he wyl hysse howe
 chastite. For no man ought to be admytted (sayth he) to serue at the
 altier, excepte his chastite be first knowne. Also in an other chapter
 he saythe, They that cyther kepe whores, or elles mary wyues, shall
 be puate of theyr benefices. For they are vnworthy for to be in the
 temple of God, and to touche the holy vessels of the churche, that
 dothe vse them selues in suche vncleannes, saythe he. What is con-
 demnyng of matrimony, yf this be not? he compareth whoredome,
 and matrimony to be lyke cleane, & whiche byd neuer none heretyke.
 The Pope gothe further, and sayth: No man may be cyther prest,
 or deacon, that is maryed, excepte they wyl promise to forsake theyr
 wyues. ac. These lawes make agaynst them that saye, howe that
 maryed men may be priestes. The same thyng with the Pope also
 to firme in diuerse other places of his lawe, hauyng none other cause
 why, but onely because (as he saythe) priestes must be pure, & cleane.
 This same cause had also Eustachius. For he reckened as the Pope
 doth, howe maryage was unpure, and vncleane, and byd therfore for-
 byd priestes to marye. Yea in our dayes, I dare saye, that no man
 forbydeth priestes to mary, but onely they that reckon maryage vncleane.
 But let vs go further, and se what holy counsels haue decreed,
 as concernyng priestes matrimony. We do reade in a counsell, that
 is called the syrie Synode, these wordes: Consyderyng that it is de-
 creed amongst the lawes made by them of Rome, that no deacon,
 nor prest, shall company with theyr wyues. Therefore we north-
 landyng that decree, folowynge the rules of the apostles, and the co-
 stitutions of holy men, wyl, that from this day forth, mariage shall
 be lawfull, in no wyse dissoluyng the matrimony betwene them, and
 theyr wyues, nor depuruyng them theyr familiarite in tyme comen-
 ent. Who soeuer therefore shall be founde able of the ordre of deacon,
 subdeacon, or of presthod, we wyl, that no suche men be prohibite to
 ascende the dignities aforesayde, for the cohabitation of theyr wyues.
 Nor that they be constrained at the respyce of theyr ordys, to vscle
 chastite, or to abstayne from the company of theyr lawfull wyues.
 It foloweth, yf any man presume therefore agaynst the rasons of the
 apostles to depurue priestes, or deacons from the copulation, and so-
 litypp of theyr lawfull wyues, let suche a man be depose. Simbla-
 bly, howe priestes, and deacons, whiche putterth away theyr wyues
 vnder the colour of holynes, let them be excommunicate. But yf they
 continue in the same, let them be depose.
 Iacobus the wysse counsellor byr condempne by name the pope's decree,
 whiche hath wounded spiritual men to forsake theyr wyues, and
 in this

In this is also to be observed, that the evasion of the papistes, when they say, that married men may be priests, is a false lye, for the pope, and they byd never admyt that, as this counsell wynteth. But avoyde that they are byruen to a narrowe exigent, by the violence of our argumentes, and they have none other evasion to delude the people by. Wherefore they be compelled to helpe them selves, with such a lye. For here is it playnely in this counsell declared, howe the pope, and they have prohibited those priests, that were married, to comynge with theyr wyues, and wolde not admytte them to mynister, afore they had forsaken theyr wyues. Furthermore note howe that this counsell dothe alledge for them, the rules of the holy apostoles, and the constitutions of blessed men. What chilsen man wyll wolke sit hym selfe agaynst this holy counsell? the whiche hath so good authority for it? Afterwarde it is to be marked, howe that this counsell dothe commaunde, that no man shall wolke chaste, when he shall be consecrated, the whiche bynge is clerely agaynst the pope, that compelleth all his priestes to wolke chaste, afore they be sacred.

Nowe let every chilsen man iudge, whether it be better, or surer to folowe the pope, hauinge none authority for hym, and bringe also but one man: than to folowe this holy counsell, hauinge for it the authority of the holy apostles, and of other blessed men.

Finally, marke howe that this blessed counsell both depose all those, that dothe pryncipallye priests from the company of a lawfull wyfe.

Out of the whiche dothe folowe, that the pope, & all his adherentes be also sure deposed. And if they remayne in theyr error, they be excommunicated. Wherefore I conclude out of this counsell, that priests may lawfully have wyues. We have also euen there these wordes.

It is open, that neither deacons, nor subdeacons, ought to be forbidden from marriage. &c. If this be not playne? I can not tell what is playne? Wherefore Gratianus concludeth, that whether he be priest, deacon, or subdeacon, he may lawfully vse matrimony.

If men wyll not be contente with these saynges, I can not tell what wyll satisfie them? Reasonable men oughte not to fyght bothe agaynst God, and man. But yet let us go further, and se what the popes lawe saythe more.

Innocent the thyrde wynteth in his decretalles, on this maner: Those priests, that after the maner of the countrey, hath not forsaken the communion of marriage, if they do breake theyr wedlocke, ought greuously to be punished, scinge that they may vse lawfully matrimony. Marke howe that this was the maner of certayne countreys, & priests myght marry. Ergo, it must nedes folowe, that priests matrimony is not forbidden by Gods lawe. And if it be not forbidden by gods lawe? What charge is in the pope to comynge men so violently unto it? Wherby the whiche God hath not boide them to.

Dist. xxviii. c.
Diaconi.

Dist. xxviii. c.
de Sacerdot.

De vita & do-
nest. clericor.

Cicero. lib. 1.
Tullio. In
Cicero. lib. 1.
Tullio. In
Cicero. lib. 1.
Tullio. In
Cicero. lib. 1.
Tullio. In

It is implan-
ed in nature
to marie: yf
Gods gyfte do
not chaunge
it nature.

Is it not a cruell thyng, for the pope to burne a man as an heretike, because that he heperth not his comaundment, and lyueth not in open whoredome? Why dothe he not comaunde hym as well neyther to hunger, nor yet to thurst? And yf he epyther hunger, or thurst, why dothe he not so, byd hym, to eate, and to drynke? It is as moche in our power to vowe chastite, and to kepe it, yf we haue not the gyfte of God, as it is to bowe, that we wyll neyther hunger, nor thurst, for they are bothe inclinacions of nature, implanted of God. For as Cicero saythe, and also the Emperour in his lawe, we are naturally inclined vnto the coniunction that is in matrimony, for cause of propagation, And it is as moche in our handes, neyther to hunger, nor to thurst, as it is to chaunge this naturall inclination. And as we, whan we are hungry, and thursty, can not abstayne from eating, and drynkyng, so moze can we kepe our chastite (notwithstandyng our bowe) yf God haue not gyuen vs the gyfte. Euen may here please somthynges them selues, & stande wel in theyr owne consaite, & saye howe they can inuent many remedies to kepe theyr chastite by. But I dare say, they wolde not for all the clothes that belongeth to theyr barches, that the purenes, & cleennes of theyr vertes, were wyrtten in great letters, & set vp on the churche doore. Wherfore I wolde desyre men to be contented, and to set asyde all hypocrisy, and speake the trurthe, as it is wyrtten in theyr vertes, for God wyll not be dysceyued, nor yet mocked. And doubtles, yf I couide not shewe infinite examples, howe that pices neyther do, nor yet can kepe theyr chastite, men myght well blame me for mouyng this article. But now, seynge that theyr lyuynge dothe testifie my doctrine, and that to the great offence, and schlauder of Chyestes holy churche, and also to the great rebuke, and shame of many a good mans chyldre, ye finally to the dampnation of many a deere soule, the thynke men oughte to be content, and to thanke me for takyng of so great labours, for deliuerance of theyr soules, and also for mayntaynauce of honesty, and good myshall vertue, accordyng to Gods lawe, and mans lawe. But let vs procede further to proue this matter. The mayster of the Sentence, wyrteth on this maner. Our wepkenes is prone to fall in to filthynges, But it is helped with honest marriage. And þe thyng, that is turo hole men an office, is vnto syche men a remedy. Marke howe the M. of the Sentence sayth, that we are turo to fall in to filthynges? And howe þe marriage is an honest remedy? How can men than after theyr owne lernynge condempne marriage? as none honest thyng? seynge that theyr owne clerkes calleth it honest? Moreover, the mayster of the Sentence wyll, þe bothe perfect, & imperfect may vse this honest thyng, for to the fyrr it is an office, & to the other it is a necessary remedy. Thus howe wolde men crie agaynst vs poure men, yf

Register
Sentenciary.
4. Dist. 27.

men, if they had halfe someche agaynst vs, as we haue agaynst them. But our lord sende them his grace, & moue theyr hertes. Amen.

We haue also in the Popes law a rule, De filijs presbiteroy, in the whiche there be many chapters wyrtten to the byshops of Englande, as concernynge priestes chyldren. Wherfore it is to be supposed, that priestes had then wyues, And yf they had then, why may they not now? By what authority are our priestes now more compelled, than they were? Haue our priestes now more articles of theyr sayth than they had? But yet here wyl be sayde, & the Popes lawe speaketh of bastards, and not of lefull chyldren. He thynketh, that this same is not charitably answered, for here they do accuse of fornicacion many an honest prieste, agaynst whom they haue alonely but a byghte supposition. For they that made this answer, knewe not those men, nor yet theyr lyfynge. And the text speaketh but of priestes chyldren, & not of bastards. Furthermore by this solution is many an honest man defamed, for to be a bastard, the whiche is an puell name. And me thynke vnycharitably layde by these men vnto theyr charges. Wherfore note, that these men dothe soze defame priestes, and that agaynst the ordie of charite, that had rather graunt all these priestes, that the lawe speaketh of (whiche is no smal nombre) for to be byakers of theyr bowe, and to be open whoresmasters, yea, and also theyr chyldren to be bastards, rather than they wolde graunte that those priestes had lafull wyues. The whiche were neyther agaynst honestie, nor yet the ordie of priesthode. Wherfore yf I wolde thus haue defamed priestes, and theyr chyldren, men wolde soze haue ben greued with me: yea I am asrayde, & some men wyl be displeased with me, alonely because I do wyte agaynst those priestes, whom I knowe of suertie to be nought, yf haupng of chyldren can tellie it. But what wyl they say to the Popes lawe in the same place, whose wordes be these. Thou dost as he of vs (sayth the Pope, to the byshop of Cassel) wherby that these men, that hath priestes to theyr fathers, may be promoted to holy ordies or not, yf they be of good, & honest demeanour, and well lerned. To this we answer (sayth the Pope) that yf they be gotten of lafull marriage, and there be none other Canonically impediment, than may they lawfully be promoted vnto holy ordies, and may recite that same benefice, whiche theyr fathers had before. &c. This no man can deny, but the lawe speaketh of priestes chyldren, that were gotten in lafull matrimonic. Wherfore it must needs folowe, that priestes were then married, yea, and the lawe calleth theyr marriage lafull, whiche muste also be nored, so that men may se that this doctrine of myne is no newe thyng, but it is eldier than theyr lawe. Also in that same rule, the Pope sayth, we haue vnderstanded, that a boyne, and gotten in priesthode of a lafull wyfe,

Ext. de filijs
presb. cap. ad
presentia. Ue
mens. Propo
sit. Ex trans
missa.

I do not for
much defame
holy priestes
hod / as they
do that graunt
them to haue
bastards.

Extra. ii. i. de
filijs presbiteroy.
ca. ad hoc.

Idem. cap.
Litteras.

wyl,

Wyfe, hath alwayes had an affection to serue God in the office of a spiritual man. &c. Here note, that the Pope speaketh of preestes chyldren, and of them that were gotten in lawfull marriage, and not in fornicacion. Wherefore the Pope supposeth, that preestes may haue a lawfull matrimony. And therefore he thinketh, & whā men fynde in law, infection made of preest children, they wolde rather suppose them to be gotten in matrimony, than in fornicacion. For he for the honor of the father, mother, and also of the chyldre. Specially seinge & preestes had wyues in those dayes, and it standeth also more with honesty of preesthood, to graunte, that they had wyues, rather than whores.

Imperator
Cōstan. lege.
Cmms Pa.
Ad perangar-
iam, Codice
de epis. & cler.

¶ Nowe let vs se what the Emperours lawe sayth to preest wyues. We wyll sayth he, & all manner of spiritual men that haue this prerogative, that they: wyues, & they: chyldren, and they: seruantes, that is for to say, bothe male, and female, shall be free from an homage, whiche is called Perangartam. Here is to be noted, that the Emperour toke not alonely admyt preestes matrimony, but also he honoureth it with a priuilege, and a prerogative, the whiche he wolde not haue done, yf he had iudged they: matrimony vnlawfull. Wherefore men may se, yf they wyll, howe indifferent our forefathers hath ben vnto this holy state of matrimony. And it wolde not become vs yuell, yf we lerned of them better to iudge of these thynges, & God our maker hath bothe instituted, and sanctified.

¶ Now good rede haue I proued this article by Gods holy worde, by the saynges of olde doctours, by the auctorite of counsellors, and by some certayne lawes, bothe Emperiall, and Poppysh. Wherefore nowe wyll I go further vnto the histories, and proue this thyng by examples, and practise of holy men.

Math. viii.

¶ First, we haue the example of blessed saynt Peter, the whiche had doubtles a wyfe, as it may be proued by Matthew. whiche sayth: Quod socrus Petri tenebatur magnis febribus. Peters wyues mother had a great akes. Nowe, yf Peter had a wyfe, as this texte is clere, what thyng shulde forbyd our preestes marriage? I thinke they set not bounde to more chastite, than Peter was. For it wyll not helpe to say, that he forsoke his wyfe after his calling. For the scripture here speaketh of Peters wyues mother. Why do they not as well take his wyues mothers name awaye, as they take awaye his wyfe? But I haue answered to this reason largely prouoghe before.

Actoz. xi.

¶ Also Philip the Euangelist, hadde thye daughters, the whiche he coude not haue had, yf that he had had no wyfe, for I thinke there is no good man that wyll recken them to be bastards, and whores chyldren. Neyther it can not helpe to saye, that these chyldren were borne before his election, for this is but a simple sayng, and no probation. And it is not prouoghe to say, seinge that men wyll haue it for so ne

myghte haue suspected me, that than I wolde haue defended this
article, for the mayntenaunce of my sacre. But nothe on the othe
rside, þ men shulde not thynke howe I dispised marriage, or thoughte
it vntyll for a pcedis to marry, in as muche as I my selfe do not ma-
rye, Therefore haue I taken this labour on me, to wyte my men-
yngge, and so moche the more boldely, because þ men haue no cause
to suspecte me, that I speake to defende myn owne cause, but alonely
to set out the verite, so God helpe. Amen.

¶ But nothe wyll I go to the popes lawe, & se what tyme that this
thyng begonne to take strength, it had ben often tymes attempted,
but it was alwayes repelled by one good man or other, yll after the
dayes of saynt Gregor.

¶ Pope Siricius made a statute,

Dist. lxxv. c.
Purimus.

that pcedis shulde haue no wyues, but it roke none effecte.

¶ After hym came Pellagius the seconde, and he comaunded, that
those pcedis þ had married wyues, shulde abstaine from theyr wyues.

¶ After hym came S. Gregor, and he thought that statute of
Pellagius to loze, þ men shulde abydyne from theyr wyues, whiche
had neither bowed chastite, nor yet had vsed them selfe to continence.

And therefore he decreed, that the byshops shulde consecrate no subdea-
con, excepte he wolde first bowe chastite. This is openly in þ popes
lawe. Here began the thyng somthyng to spryngge, and to take
effecte, but yet it was not fully stablised, for afterwarde S. Grego.
him selfe repented hym, as S. Yulderike beareth witness, by þ reason
of the great murdres, that he sawe come therof. Wherefore it remay-
ned so still a great whyle, vnto the tyme of Leo the. ii. and he
sayd, that pcedis may kepe theyr wyues, but they may not compa-
ny with them, for the apostoles (sayth he) shd forsake the company
of theyr wyues, alonely they prouyded them meate, and clothe.

Dist. lxxi. c.
Ante menis.

¶ After hym cometh Innocencius the seconde, the whiche (not re-
gardyng Gods holy ordinaunce) togeth with pcedis that married,
and pcedis that kept whoorers, all vnder one dampnation.

Dist. lxxviii. c.
Decernimus.

But at these yet coulde not byng this matter to passe, as they wolde,
for in many places (for all this) pcedis had wyues. Tyll the tyme of
Gregor the seventh, whiche was called Syluester, a man of p-
well tryng, as the cronicles testifieth, and also a great pygromacer,
and very familiar with the deuyl. And as cronicles saythe, a man
that had poisoned. iij. or. v. popes before, that he myghte come the
soner to it. This man (I saye) in the yere of our lord. 1074.

Non clerus.
Alber. d. d.
uidentis.

¶ Here began
he began to attempte this matter very sharpely in Germany, where
pcedis were than quietly suffered to haue wyues. This man sente
his comaundement vnto Otto byshop of Cons. comaundyng to for-
byd pcedis that had not yet married, for to marry. And those that had
married, to be separated from theyr wyues. But byshop Otto per-
uynge this

here began
with pcedis
chaste to
get the ouer
hande. For
this was a
captayne for
the nong.

ber nam le-
em. Quos
er conuict
omo non se-
arat. Et ne-
so dimittat
corde i excep-
a fornicatio-
is causa.

who can re-
quire a better
inswure than
these bishops
make & they
would be
sode wordes
Wark. ix.
6. Coun. vij.

This hath al
ways ben the
opes maner
of techyng / o-
ther doctrine
had he neuer

in mulle
of preestes
wyues.

tyng this thyng for to be deuyllysh, wolde not exerce his chmann-
ment. Wherfore pope Grego. cursed hym, & assolled all men from his
obediencie, and cired hym vnto Rome, where he had gathered a coun-
sell, in the whiche he had made a decree, & no preest shulde afterwarde
marry. And they that had married afore, shulde forsake theyr wyues.
Moreouer, it was there decreed, That no man shulde receiue holy
orders afterwarde, excepte he first swaie to lyue soole. These de-
crees were promulgated ouer all Italy. But the preestes, & bishops
of Fraunce refused this decree, and sayde, that this counsell was co-
trary to Gods wyde, and toke from preestes that God, and nature
had graunted them. And therfore the Pope (sayde they) was an he-
retike, and an auctor of dampnable doctrine, And that this decree
came not of God, but of the deuyl, and aledged for thera the saying
of our M. Chyiste, Non omnes capiunt verbum hoc. And also sayne
Paule, De virginitate preceptum non habeo. They sayde also, that
the Pope wolde compell them to lyue lyke angelles, And howe he
hath open a wyndowe vnto fornicacion, & vncleannes. Wherfore they
made hym answer, that they had rather to forsake theyr benefices,
than theyr wyues. And yf he wolde dispense married preestes, than
shulde he go, and prouoke hym aungels to serue his cures. But the
Pope was nothyng moued at all theyr scriptures, or reasons, but
he wote to the bishops strait letters, commaundyng them, and
thetynge them vnder the payne of cursynge, and pynatyng them
of theyr bishoppikes, that they shulde bynge this thyng to passe.
So that at the last, the moste parte of the bishops consented to hym
for here, and labored all they coulde to perswade the preestes to forsake
theyr wyues, and to vowe chastite. But it was longe ere the preestes
were perswaded, yea some of them wolde neuer agree therunto as
longe as they lyued. This Pope wote also to the archbishop of
Rens, commaundyng hym as primate of all Germany, to compell
married preestes to forsake theyr wyues, & to cause all other to vowe
chastite. This bishop called a conuocation, in the whiche he declared
the popes pleasure, but the preestes refused meruailous cruelly, al-
legyng for them, scriptures, reasons, and counsellies. So farre they
proceeded together, that there had lyke to haue ben a great tumulte.
Than the bishop beyng a wyle man, consyderyng howe styff, and
ernest the preestes were, desired them to take halfe a yere deliberacion,
exhortynge them to agre vnto that thyng with a good wyll, vnto
the whiche, he muste els compell them, by the popes auctorite. After
the halfe yere was come out, the bishops called a conuocation at the
vniuersite of Erforde, and there required an answer of the preestes,
but they were styffer than before, & sayde, howe they had rather dye,
than forsake theyr wyues, contrary to Gods lawe. On the other syde
the arch-

not be prone, that the apostoles, forsoke the company of their wyues,
as he sayth. But I am content to take this argument at the popes
hande. This the pope graunteth, & the apostoles ledde their wyues
aboute with them. Wherfore it muste nedes folowe (euen after the
pope) that our preestes may also leade wyues aboute with them.
If ye wyll graunte me this, I am contente, I wyll not bynde preestes
amplectendi vxores, I wyll put it to his wyues discreccion, and his,
as they wayne can agree, so am I content, alonly let them haue the
libertie, that the pope graunteth the holy apostoles to haue had. And I
troubre not, but there wyll folowe tokens, not onely of circuducendi,
but of amplectendi. Truly I haue great meruayle, that men be
not ashamed, thus to tittle with holy scripture, yea, and that in mat-
ters that be so weygbrye, and wherby they se dayly so great offence,
and schlauder to spyunge, in the holy church of God.

Dome m wy
sacres could
I resse here
of amplectendi
if children
that be gotte
myght beare
witness

¶ A nother scripture the pope hath, whiche is this: They that are
in the flewe can not please God. On this texte disputeth the pope
thus: They that are defoyled, are in the flewe. But preestes & mary
wyues, are defoyled. Ergo, they be in the flewe, and can not please
God. ¶ If men had eyther feare of God in their vertes, or elles
reuerence to gods holy institutions, and ordinaunces, they woulde not
thus speake, nor iudge of pure, and clene matrimony. I truste there
is no churken man, but he wyll graunt me, & matrimony is of Gods
ordynyng, and seitynge? wherfore it must nedes be pure, and clene.
For our God is no God of vncleannes, or of splithynes, let the pope
iudge hym as he wyll. Nowe to the popes argument. The pope
sayeth in his minoz, howe preestes that marye, be vncleane. I denye
that, and say stedfastly, that the pope blasphemeth bothe God, and
his holy gytes. And whan he can proue his minoz true, than wyll
I graunt it vnlaful for preestes to mary. But I wyll take the popes
argument, and proue that no man shall haue wyues, and so shal the
woulde sone be at an ende. The popes maioz is this: They that be
in the flewe can not please God. But marped men (as the pope thyn-
keth) lyue after the flewe. Ergo, no marped man can be saued. Let
the popet of Rome, & all his adherentes, answer to my argument,
and I wyll sone answer to theirs. For this am I sure of, that the
scriptures, which be byrnyng, maketh not agaynst matrimony, nor
yet more agaynst preestes, than agaynst lay men. Wherfore let hym
conclude what he can, out of them agaynst preestes, and I wyll con-
clude the same agaynst lay men. These be all the scriptures that I
can fynde in the popes lawe agaynst this matter. Wherfore nowe
wyll I go to their reasons.

Wist. I. xxiij.
c. Propositiu
Qui in carne
sunt deo places
re nō possunt

¶ Their principall reason is this. Wherfore nowe
shaped men may be chosen to be preestes, but after they preestholde
may they may they not mary. ¶ These men must fynde conspyre,
what

Men that
haue wyues
may be prees-
tes, but after
they preestholde
they may not
marrye.

priestes that hath not the gyfte of chastite

What doctrine they defende, that is to saye, howe they intende to de-
fende the Popes doctrine, and that doctrine, whiche they call the doc-
trine of the church, for there is none other doctrine agaynst vs but
that. Nowe both this doctrine clerely detene agaynst them, and say
howe no man that hath a wyfe, may be chosen to be a priest, or a tra-
con, nor they can bypunge me none example, that euer the Pope dyd
graunt, & a marped man myght be a priest, ercept he got money for
dispensynge. So that the Pope by his dispensation hath alwayes
testified, & it was agaynst his lawe for a marped man to be a priest.
Wherfore these men (yf they wyll defende the lawes of the church)
musse be bounde to proue, that marped men may after the lawes of
the church (as they call them) be chosen, or elles they answer is
nought. For it is no reason, that they shoulde saye this solution of
theyr owne byaynes, and say, that it may be so. But they must proue
me, that theyr church dothe graunt it lawfull so to be. Moreover,
where be nowe all theyr scriptures, wherby they proue, that priestes
may not marye for detorpyng of them? Is not the company that a
priest kepeth with his wyfe after his consecration (whiche they graunt)
as pure, and as cleane, as it was afore his consecration? hath his con-
secration made that thyng vncleane, that was before pure? Wherfore
yf he may kepe his wyfe (after these men) whiche he marped afore his
consecration, why may not a nother priest lykewyse marye a wyfe
after his priesthode. What dothe this man, as concerning the office of
matremony, that thother man dothe not? Forthermore they were
wont to say, that priestes myght not kepe theyr wyues, in somuche
that they sayned, howe the holy apostoles dyd forsake theyr wyues.
Howe stande thys with theyr solution, that marped men myghte
be byshops? But me thynke they do but styfle with this matter, and
seke no more but a lyght euasion, to helpe them for a tyme. More-
ouer, dothe the piasse, and the lawes of theyr church declareth
clerely, that theyr meaning is not to chose a marped man to be a by-
shop. For theyr custome is, that a man may be subdeacon at xvi. yeres
olde. Nowe is there no man customably marped so yonge. And
whan he shall be subdeacon, he must forswere marriage, as the popes
lawe commaundeth. Ergo, it must nedes folowe, that no marped man
can be a priest. For he hath forsworne marriage many yeres before.
Moreover, all doctors do graunte, that after the fall of Adam, ma-
trymony was a remedy agaynst fornicacion, and C. Saule approueth
the same. Quisquis suam habet uxorem propter fornicationem.
What yf this man, after his consecration is in more temperance of for-
nicacion than he was before? What remedy wyll men fynde now for
this infirmite? His consecration taketh not away his naturall ape-
tite, nor it maketh Gods remedye vnlawfull. And eyther he muste
lyue in

Dist. xxviii. c.
Nullus. c. 2. B.
sum. c. c. pre-
terea. et. cap.
Pausquam.

Remembre the
tyranny of
Greg. the vii.
whiche com-
pelled priestes
to forsake
theyr wyues.

Whar age is
all ones afore
priesthode?
and after.

Dist. xxviii.
cap. Nullum.

lyue in fornication, or ellys marry a wyfe. Let men iudge, whiche of them becometh a prieste beste after his consecration?

¶ Furthermore no man can denye, but the histories make mention, howe diuerse priestes haue ben married after their consecration, at the dispensacion of the pope. Wherefore it muste folowe, that it is not agaynst Gods lawe, for a prieste to marry after his consecration. For than the pope myghte not dispense with hym. Men muste graunt, that many priestes haue had wyues. Peter standeth it with good reason, and lernynge, that they proue, that all these men dyd marry before theyr priesthoode onely, and not after, seinge they wyll haue it so necessary, and so perfecte a solucion. And yf they can not proue it, why do they affirme it so styfly? What moueth them so to say? yea, and so boldely? But yet I wyll be content, let the matter be indifferently handled, and let as many married men be chosen to be byshops, as be vnmarrried, seinge they graunt it lawfull: And than am I sure, that we shall auoyde a great heape of fornications, that ben nowe vsed. yea I feare me, that our chaste men shall some be quite of all, and the married men shall haue all.

¶ A nother reason they

haue, and that is this. Priestes may extirpe the brennyng heate that is in them, by fastynge, labourynge, watchynge, prayynge, and by other good workes doynge. And yf they do thus, no doubt, but God wyll gyue them the gyfte of chastite, for he is liberal in gyuyng, and mercifull in hearyng of theyr prayers, ergo, they neede not to marry.

¶ First I desire to knowe of those men, yf they wyll say of theyr conscience, if the thyrde parte of priestes in Englande do kepe theyr chastite?

I thinke they wyll rather swere nay, than yea. Nowe come to theyr argument, and se howe shamefully they do repute priestes? I durst not speake so moche agaynst them, as these men do. For first they say, that yf priestes dyd pray, or fast, or dyd lyke good workes, than god wolde, yea he must of his liberalite, & mercie gyue them the gyfte of chastite. Secondly, they graunt, that the thyrde deale of priestes kepe not theyr vowe. Nowe is this as moche to say, I thinke me, first, that priestes be noughte in dede. Secondly, that they nevertheless wyll, nor yet desire to be better. For yf they dyd desire it of God, he wolde gyue it them, say they. In hym is no faulte, ergo, the faulte is in the priestes, & neither be good in dede, nor yet wyll pray, or desire to be good. I wolde not gladly haue suche patrons in my cause.

Moreover I graunt that priestes shall faste, and praye, to kepe theyr bodies lowe. But nowe to thym. Why shall not priestes also marry to auoyde fornication, as well as faste, & pray? seinge that God hath ordeyned matrimony, for a peculier, & singler remedy agaynst fornication? I do not contempne true fastynge, and prayenge. Why do they than contempne marrynge? seinge & God, which ordeyned fastynge, &

X.1.

praying

priestes may
get chastite
by prayenge
and fastynge.

A Notary of
Londō sayd
to me openly
that he had
marryed a thou
sande dispen
sacion for pr
iestes chyldren
in his dayes
howe many
than haue a
Notaries
repute

priestes shal
faste & pray
But what
all that wyll
not helpe

God is bound
to as moche
as he hath
promysed.

praying, hath also ordeyned maryng? Yea, & me thynke, yf any one
thyng shulde be fyrst proued, than shulde mariage be fyrst proued;
seinge that it is deputed of God, for a propre, and spedye remedye
agaynst fornicacion? Notwithstandynge I wyll be content, fyrst
to exhorthe all prieestes, bothe to prayinge, and fastynge, and yf they
can so kepe theyr chastite, I wyll thanke God with them. But yf
they can not, than wyll I in no wyse, that they shall be compelled
eyther by lawe, or by bothe to chastite. For þ is agaynst gods worde,
and the doctrine of his holy apostoles. But yet let me touche theyr
grounde nerer. I wolde desire them to tell me, & to proue vnto me
by lernynge, þ God is bounde, in asmoche as he is liberall, & mercys-
full to graunt vnto them the gyfte of chastite, for theyr prayinge, and
fastynge. It is not ynough for them thus to say, seinge þ many good
men hath bothe prayed, & fasted, & yet had not the gyfte of chastite:
But they must bynge me an open scripture, wherein þ this pmyse is
made vnto theyr fastynge, & watchynge, or els they muste graunt that
they be bounde to vse Gods remedies, whiche he hath ordeyned, and
instituted, to the helpynge of our infirmitie. If I were hungry, and
thursty, and wolde go, & pray to God to slake my hunge, & thirste,
and wolde not vse those meanes, & remedies, þ God hath ordeyned,
thynke you þ God were bounde of his liberalite to graunt me my re-
quest? Nay forsooth. But it were rather to be iudged, that I were a
tempter of God, and a dispiser of his holy ordinaunce, and wolde not
be content with those remedies, that God hath appoynted.

Math. liij.

Psal. lxxxv.

The deuyll cometh with lyke temptation to our M. Christe, and
requirerth hym to the honour of God to do a myracle, to leape downe
from the highest of the temple, yf he wolde be taken for the sonne of
God, and as for harme he coulde haue none, For the scripture testi-
fieth (sayth he) that God had comaunded his aungels to bere the by
in theyr armes. wherfore (sayth the deuyll) it shall be a great honour
to God, and also a great declaracion to thy power, yf thou descende
from the heght of the temple, othertwyse than any other man can do.
And yf thou gost downe by the steyers, god shall no more be glorified
in thy facte, than in other mens, nor thou shalt not be taken for the
man, þ thou art, & woldest be. Wherfore, thou nedest not doubte,
but God wyll helpe the. For the scripture speaketh of the, whiche
can not be false. Notwithstandynge all this, our M. Christe calleth
it temptynge of God, whan men wolll seke vnto hym for other reme-
dies, than he hath appoynted. And therefore our M. Christe both cleer-
ly declare, þ the same scripture, whiche the deuyll byngeth for hym,
maketh not for his purpose. For though that God both promysed to
helpe Christe, & all his, yet wyll he be glorified in his creatures, & wyll
that we shall vse them with thanks, to thentent, & purpose, that he
hath ordeyned.

hath ordeyned them for: And than, yf there be any thyng lackynge
 unto our helthe, and saluacion, he wyll, that we shall both pray, and
 trust in hym. With what boldenes can I desyre of God to helpe me?
 and am not content to receyue his creatures, that he hath institute
 to helpe me? wherby shall god helpe me, yf I dispise his ordinaunces,
 and creatures, that he hath all redy ordeyned to my helppynge? Is it
 reason, that God at my instance, shall make a newe ordinaunce, and
 newe remedies for my diseases? why am I not content (if I wyll be
 helped at Gods hande) with those remedies, that be already institute?
 It was but a small thyng, and a vyle thyng in a maner, for Christ
 to defende by the slevers from the heghte of the temple, seinge y the
 deuyl requested hym, by gods honour, & also by his owne, to shewe
 some speciall power. yf I were diseased, & syche, & wolde not vse
 the counsell of physicions, nor of other medicines, y god hath institu-
 ted, but wyll fast, & pray, & watche, & to almes dedes, thynke you that
 men wolde rechen me wyse? And yf I dpyd thus dpye, were not I a di-
 spiser of god, & of his good ordinaunces? God hath appoynted phis-
 cions, & gyuen vnto herbes, & other creatures, to helpe my disease.
 wherfore I am bounde with mekenes, and with thanks to receyue
 them, and to pray to God, that he wyll fortifye, and strength the na-
 tures of these creatures, and that they may haue vertue, and efficacie
 in me. This is a christen man bounde to do. For yf this reason of
 thes men shall haue strengthe, than wyll we vse no maner of crea-
 tures, or remedies that God hath ordeyned, but agaynst hungre, and
 thurst, heate, and colde, agues, & pestilences, pouertie, and necessite,
 swerdes, and gonnes, Summa summaru, agaynst all maner of dis-
 eases, agaynst all maner of mysfortunes, wyll we vse nothyng, but
 alonely pray, or faste, or elles gyue almes, as we shall thynke beste.
 So that we wyll teache God what thyng is best to the helppynge of
 all imperfections. I thanke you good maysters for your good do-
 ctine, I pray God rewarde you. Finally, I haue great meruaile,
 why that prayer, and fastynge shall alonely get preeles to the gyfte of
 chastite? & not all other men? And yf other men may haue the gyfte
 of chastite throughe theyr prayer? why be not all men moued to lyue
 chaste? seynge that chastite is in very dede a hygher state, than ma-
 trymonye is? why ben preeles moze bounde to pray for the gyfte of
 chastite, than other christen men be? Nowe marke this doctrine. yf
 a hymne of the deuyl wolde come nowe, and preache vniuersally to
 all men the excellency of chastite, and to shewe what a great quyet ly-
 uynge it is, and what a pleasaunte state it is before God, And contrary
 wyse, of marriage wolde say, that it were a sorowful state, ful of trou-
 bles, full of cares, full of heynnes, and (as the Pope sayth) a selfe help,
 and a carnall state, and that semeth to haue in it selfe an vnclennes.

God charu-
geth not his
ordre for our
pleasure.

God hath or-
deyned euery
this to a pur-
pose: & ther-
unto muste
they be vsed.

preeles haue
a priuilege a-
foze other me

The fleshe
wolde gladly
haue a quyet
lyuynge, and
pleasaunce.

and by these reasons, & persuasions, with many mo that he myghte
 bynne, wolde exhorte all maner of men in Englande to lye soole,
 and vnnarped, And wolde also teache them to pray, and to faste for
 the gyfte of chastite, and not to doubt, but that God of his liberalite
 wolde grue it them. I wolde sayne knowe of lerned men, yf this man
 were Gods frende? & the kynge? howe moche he is Gods, I wyll
 not dispute. But I am sure there coulde not be a greater treasoure
 to the kynge grace than he is. For yf he myght bynne to passe that
 he intendeth by his doctrine. First, he shulde destroy the kynge's suc-
 cession. Secondly, he shulde wthin this leuen yeres, make a kynge
 a lord of a frewe subiectes, or none, and finally, of none in lende. And all
 this wolde they do by fastyng, and prayyng. But what thyng soeuer
 they tell vs of they: fastyng, and prayyng. I am sure that they fall to
 gettyng of chyldren as sone as any other men do, and all is with fa-
 styng, and prayyng. Alas what thyng can not the deuyl myse.
 But let no man take me, as though I condemned fastyng, and pray-
 yng. For surely I wolde, that they shulde be bled, & that diligently,
 But I wolde haue them bled in tyme, and place conuenient, and for
 the intente, and purpose, that God hath ordeyned them. But yet I
 wolde not, that other remedies, and gyfes of god shulde be thought
 vnlawfull, and also be dyspysed for them.

Had the wylle
 he continued
 they wolde
 haue made
 vs poore mē
 beloue that
 they had so-
 ten chyldren
 with fastyng
 and prayyng.

Most most gracypoult pryncce, here haue I shewed vnto your grace,
 mynne obedience, wylling that euery man shulde bothe so lerne,
 and so do. Secondly, I haue shewed my lernyng in certayne arti-
 cles, for the whiche there is a variaunce in the worlde at this daye,
 protestatyng vnto your grace, that I haue sayde nothing, but I trust
 be true, and agreeable with Gods holy worde, and with the lernyng
 of the olde doctours. Forwithstandyng, yf there be any man within
 your realme, that can proue by good lernyng the contrary (so that
 your grace shall alowe it to agree with Gods worde, & to be sufficient
 before Gods dreadfull iudgement) I shall be content to sub-
 mytt my selfe to your graces determination. And to do
 that thyng, that becometh a chylde man, & a true
 subiecte to do. Thus our lord Iesu Christ,
 the purchasour of all grace, & good-
 nes, cuer preserve your grace
 in all vertue, & honour.

A R E R.

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